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1856

THE

HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT,

FROM ITS

Earliest Settlement to the Present Time.

EDITED BY

W. H. CARPENTER,

AND

T. S. ARTHUR.

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PHILADELPHIA:
J. B. LIPPINCOTT & CO.
1856.

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PUBLISHERS' PREFACE.

THERE are but few persons in this country who have not, at some time or other, felt the want of an accurate, well written, concise, yet clear and reliable history of their own or some other state.

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The size and style of the series will be uniform with the present volume. The authors, who have been for some time collecting and arranging materials, will furnish the succeeding volumes as rapidly as their careful preparation will warrant.

PREFACE.

THIS volume presents, within as small a compass as was consistent with clearness of expression, a narrative of the events which have occurred within the limits of Connecticut, adapted to the wants of all those who cherish a respect for the patriotism of their ancestors, or who desire a knowledge of the leading facts in the history of the State.

The honourable example of the small band of exiles by whom it was first founded, alike sturdy in defence of their religious creed and their political independence, fostered that brave and uncompromising spirit in their successors which was displayed in their opposition to the encroachments of the mother country, and which still

more signally manifested itself during the War of the Revolution.

In reciting the progress of these events, all the prominent incidents, prior to and connected with so glorious a struggle, as well as those which have occurred in the subsequent history of the State, will be found accurately recorded.

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HISTORY OF CONNECTICUT.

CHAPTER I.

Adriaen Blok discovers and explores Connecticut River—Aspect of the country—Contemporaneous explorations of Captain John Smith—New England so named by Smith—Plymouth council established—Settlement of New England influenced by the persecution of the Puritans—Enactments against Puritanism during the reign of James the First—Puritan exiles settle in Amsterdam—Motives which induced them to remove to New England—Their voyage in the Mayflower—New Plymouth founded—Sufferings of the colonists—Emigrations to New England continue—Company of Massachusetts Bay obtains a charter—Rapid growth of the new colony planted under its protection—Early grants of Connecticut to Earl Warwick, and to Lords Say and Brooke—Boundaries according to the original patent—Dutch traders on the Connecticut—River Indians invite the English to traffic—House of Good Hope built by the Dutch, near Hartford—Plymouth people establish a trading-house at Windsor—Governor of New Netherlands sends a force to drive them away—Failure of this new expedition—English and Dutch claims upon Connecticut—Lord Say and his associate propose to settle there—Reasons for their abandonment of that project—Winthrop and others arrive at Boston as commissioners for Say and Brooke—Fort Saybrook built at the mouth of the Connecticut.

EARLY in the year 1614, the States-General of the Netherlands promised, to such of their citizens as should discover new lands, an exclu-

sive privilege of trade to them for four successive voyages. On the strength of this promise, a company of merchants residing at Amsterdam fitted out five ships to explore the coasts of North America. Commanding one of the vessels composing this fleet, which presently crossed the Atlantic in safety, was Captain Adriaen Blok, a navigator of no little skill and enterprise.

Soon after the arrival of Blok at Manhattan Island, on the southern extremity of which the Dutch had erected a rude fort during the previous year, his vessel, by some accident, caught fire and was destroyed. Repairing this loss, by building on the coast a small yacht, which he called the "Restless," Blok, some time during the summer, sailed on a voyage of discovery through the East River into Long Island Sound.

Coasting along the northern shore of New England, he discovered the outlets of two considerable streams. Entering the largest of these, he named it Fresh River, in contrast to the Hudson, whose waters were salt. Its Indian name was Quonehtacut, or Connecticut—that is, Long River.

Up this broad and gently-flowing stream, Blok slowly sailed to a point some fifty miles from the sea, and a little above where the city of Hartford now stands. The aspect of the country through which he passed was in the highest

degree pleasant and attractive. On either side of the river were beautiful meadows with a soil of surpassing richness, and covered with tall and luxuriant grasses down to the very edge of the water. Here and there over these natural meadows, and along the margin of the stream, were delightful clusters of vine-clad trees; under the shade of which were built the cabins or wigwams of the harmless and unwarlike Indian tribes, by whom this portion of the Connecticut valley was peopled. Back from the river, and beyond the almost level meadow lands, the ground began to ascend by gentle undulations. Here the trees grew taller and closer together; and, at length, climbing the distant hills that formed the line of the horizon, they presented the appearance of a dense and unbroken forest. Corn, hemp, and an infinite variety of fruits and medicinal herbs, were found abundantly in the fields and the woods. Game of all kinds swarmed in the forest, and the river was alive with fish. Such, in part, were the natural beauties and advantages of the valley of the Connecticut, which Blok was the first of white men to see and admire.

Having lingered on the Connecticut long enough to complete a map of its explored course, Blok again dropped down to the ocean, and continued his voyage eastward to Cape Cod, in the mean time discovering and exploring Narra-

ganset Bay. Block Island still perpetuates his name and the memory of these explorations. From Cape Cod he probably returned to Manhattan, whence a map, exhibiting the discoveries he had made, was forwarded to the States-General.

Upon this voyage of Blok, and upon a previous one made by Hendrik Hudson, the Dutch based their pretensions to that part of the American coast included between the fortieth and forty-fifth parallels of north latitude. It will presently be seen with what success these pretensions were urged.

At the very time when Blok was prosecuting his discoveries, Captain John Smith, the founder of Virginia, and the adventurous representative of a sturdy and energetic race, was exploring that portion of our eastern seaboard lying between the Penobscot and Cape Cod. Returning home, Smith published an account of his voyage, together with a chart of the coasts he had visited. To the region thus described he gave the name New England—a name bestowed upon it contemporaneously with that of New Netherlands by the Dutch, and one, too, which it has ever since retained.

Previous to this visit of Smith to New England, several unsuccessful attempts had been made to establish settlements there. Reanimated by the glowing pictures he presented of the

country, the Plymouth Company, to whom eight years before it had been patented by James I. of England, once more exerted themselves to throw into it a body of colonists. Nearly six years elapsed, however, and no visible success had attended their efforts. But, although unfortunate in one attempt to plant a colony, Smith was as sanguine as ever.

His enthusiasm was contagious. Forming schemes of colonization upon a gigantic scale, the Plymouth Company applied for, and finally obtained, on the 3d of November, 1620, a new, distinct, and extraordinary patent. By the authority of King James, forty of the richest and most powerful of the English nobility were incorporated as "The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, and ordering of New England in America." By this grant, upon which were based all the other grants made to the New England colonies, a territory was conferred upon the patentees, with uncontrolled sovereignty and unlimited jurisdiction, extending in breadth from the latitude of Philadelphia to that of Passamaquoddy Bay, and in length from the Atlantic to the Pacific; excepting, however, such places "as were actually possessed by any other Christian prince or people."

In the mean time, however, a people, whom persecution had driven from their native land,

were preparing to accomplish what this powerful and opulent company might have failed in. A permanent settlement was already being planted in New England.

Springing up with the Reformation, Puritanism had continued to flourish in the midst of many unfavourable circumstances. Driven out of England by severe penal laws, enacted during the latter half of the sixteenth century, a numerous company of its professors had collected, about the year 1600, at Amsterdam, hoping to be recalled to their native land by the successor of Queen Elizabeth.

But if James ever sincerely preferred a Presbyterian to an Episcopal establishment, as the Puritans were at one time sanguine enough to believe, his accession to the throne of England materially modified that preference. Under an enactment against Nonconformists, passed early in his reign, the most pious and learned persons were subjected to fines and imprisonment, and to punishments of distressing severity. Attacked by the Court of High Commission—an arbitrary tribunal without juries, which wielded a power scarcely less terrible than that of the Spanish Inquisition—the greater part of the Nonconformist congregations were dissolved, or compelled to meet in secret.

Some out of these congregations, however, sought in strange lands that freedom of worship

which they could not obtain in their own. Among these was a portion of the church members under the charge of the Rev. John Robinson. Removing first to Amsterdam, they at length settled, in 1609, at Leyden, where, for a number of years, they remained in peace and harmony with each other and with the strangers by whom they were surrounded.

Yet, in the mean time, they had become dissatisfied with their condition. Strict in their own morals, they regarded with no pleasure the less austere manners of the Dutch. Their children, too, were leaving them; some to become soldiers, others sailors, in the service of the States-General. At length, in 1617, they began to cherish the idea of founding a colony, where, being at liberty to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, they would, at the same time, be able to retain their national traits and language as Englishmen, preserve their offspring from evil communications, and promote the distribution of "the gospel of the kingdom of Christ."

Having obtained a patent from the Virginia Company, together with the promise of King James not to molest them in the practice of their religion, the greater part of the congregation of "Pilgrims" at Leyden, designing to establish an independent colony in North America, set out from Delft Haven on their voyage across the

Atlantic. Reaching Southampton, in England, they stopped there more than a month. In two vessels, the Speedwell and the Mayflower, on the 5th of August, 1620, they started once more on their pilgrimage. Twice they were compelled to put back, in consequence of the unfitness of the Speedwell. Finally abandoning that vessel, the more resolute of the company embarked at Plymouth, England, on board the Mayflower; and, on the 10th of November, after a long and perilous passage, came to anchor within Cape Cod.

As they had arrived at a part of the continent not included in their patent from the Virginia Company, they thought it best to enter into a voluntary agreement to yield their mutual obedience to such "just and equal laws and ordinances," as should be deemed "most meet and convenient for the general good of the colony." After signing a paper to this effect, they elected John Carver to be their governor for one year, and then set about seeking a suitable place to land and commence building a town.

It was already winter. Exposed to the inclemencies of the season and climate, with many of their number ailing seriously, the Pilgrims wandered for five weeks along the coast before a fitting site for their proposed settlement could be found. This was on the shore of Plymouth Bay, previously so named by Smith, on his map of New

England. Landing here, December the 16th, 1620, they presently began to erect the first houses of a town; which, in grateful remembrance of the kindness they had experienced at the place of their final embarkation, they determined to call New Plymouth.

It forms no part of the design of this history to relate in detail the occurrences that befell the founders of the Plymouth or Old Colony. During the first winter of their stay in America, disease, the climate, hardships, and famine carried off one-half their number; but the remainder were in no way daunted. Clinging resolutely to the land of their adoption, they proved that they were indeed what they claimed to be, "men whom small things could not discourage, nor small discontents cause to wish themselves at home again."

Though ten years after the landing of the "Pilgrims" at Plymouth their original number had but trebled itself, still the country in their neighbourhood was fast filling up with colonists. Persecuted continually in England, Puritanism sought a refuge on the shores of Massachusetts Bay.

With this object in view, in 1628, six gentlemen of Dorchester, England, procured from the council for New England a tract of land, in length from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and in breadth from three miles south of Charles River

to three miles north of the Merrimac. Three of the original company having parted with their rights, John Winthrop, and other persons of wealth and influence, became interested in the enterprise.

Already opulent, and possessed of an untiring perseverance, equal to their religious zeal and fervour in action, the new company determined upon immediate colonization. John Endicott—"a fit instrument to begin this wilderness work"—accompanied by his family and about seventy others, accordingly left England in June, 1628. In the following September the little band of pioneers founded the town of Salem.

The next year a charter was obtained for the new colony, which was constituted a body politic, by the name of the "Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England." From this period the settlement of Massachusetts progressed rapidly. In 1630, it having been determined to remove the seat of the corporation from England to America, by transferring the charter to those who should inhabit the colony, Winthrop, the newly-elected governor, together with several other gentlemen of means and influence, formed the resolution to emigrate. Before the close of the year, no less than eleven ships, with nearly two thousand colonists, safely reached New England. Nine or ten towns, including Boston, were in a short time settled.

Like their neighbours of Plymouth, many of these emigrants came over in congregations, under the charge of their pastors.

Following out their scheme of extended colonization, the council for New England, in 1630, granted to Robert Earl of Warwick, and he, in the following year, conveyed to Lords Say and Brooke, and to eleven others, among whom were the afterward celebrated Hampden and Pym, all that tract of territory in New England, bounded on the east by Narraganset River, on the north by a direct line from the head of that stream to the Pacific, and on the south, for a hundred and twenty miles, by the coast, and thence by a direct line to the Western Ocean.

Such, according to the original patent, appears to have been the earliest boundaries of Connecticut. Ignorance of the country rendered the statement of them extremely indefinite in the patent itself; and this indefiniteness was subsequently the cause of much contention.

Before a colony could be planted under the auspices of the lords and gentlemen to whom Connecticut was thus conveyed, circumstances intervened which rendered it necessary that the country should be speedily occupied, or relinquished entirely by its English claimants.

Almost from the period of Blok's discovery of the Fresh or Connecticut River, the Dutch had carried on a profitable trade with the In-

dians occupying its valley. That a valuable traffic might be opened there, was made known to the English in 1631. During that year, pressed by their enemies the Pequods, the unwarlike tribes living upon the Connecticut despatched one of their sachems to Boston and Plymouth, to induce the governors of the two New England colonies, to send out a company of settlers, assisted by whom they secretly hoped to withstand the encroachments of their fiercer neighbours. Though their ambassador, enlarging upon the richness of the country, promised to the English a yearly tribute of corn and beaver skins, if his proposition was agreed to, the two governors gave him no encouragement.

During the following year, however, a small party from Plymouth visited the Connecticut, selecting, near the mouth of Farmington River, a suitable spot upon which to erect a trading-house. Winthrop and his council having rejected a proposal that the Massachusetts people should unite with those of Plymouth in building a house at the point selected, Winslow, the governor of Plymouth, resolved to undertake the enterprise alone.

Meanwhile, their Dutch neighbours on Manhattan Island were not idle. The security of their valuable traffic with the Connecticut Indians was already a matter of anxiety. From the natives, a little piece of land at the mouth

of Fresh River was purchased, and possession of it seemingly made good, by affixing to a tree the arms of the States-General. Pushing full fifty miles farther up the stream, on its western shore, near where Hartford now stands, they bought a second strip of territory from Nepuquash, a chief of the Pequods. Here, some time in the month of June, 1633, they built, and fortified with two pieces of cannon, a small trading-post, which they named the "House of Good Hope."

While the Dutch were thus preparing to secure the lucrative traffic of Connecticut, the Plymouth people had framed, and made ready for immediate erection, the materials of their contemplated house at Windsor. These were shipped on board a small vessel, commanded by William Holmes, a resolute and enterprising "lieutenant and trader." With a crew as resolute as himself, and accompanied by several sachems owning the land it was proposed to occupy, Holmes, sailing along the coast, entered the Connecticut, and appeared before the House of Good Hope, but a short time after its artillery had been mounted. As his vessel slowly glided in front of the Dutch post, he was hailed by Van Curter, the commandant. "Where would you go?" was the Hollander's inquiry. "Up the river to trade." "Strike and stay," shouted Van Curter, "or we shall fire!" "We have a

commission from the governor of Plymouth to go up the river," replied the undaunted Holmes; "and go we will!" The cannon of the Dutch were silent, and the English passed on.

Having arrived just below the mouth of Farmington River, Holmes purchased a tract of land from the sachems of the River Indians, who had accompanied him from Plymouth. The trading-house was then set up with all expedition, and fortified with palisades.

In the mean time a sharp remonstrance arrived from Van Curter. No heed being paid to this, except by an equally sharp reply, Van Curter despatched to his superior at Manhattan intelligence of the proceedings of the English.

Van Twiller, the governor of New Netherlands, immediately sent a force of seventy soldiers to the Connecticut, to dislodge Holmes. With a brilliant and warlike display of arms and banners, the Dutch detachment made their appearance before the English trading-house; but finding the garrison prepared for a desperate resistance, they did not deem it expedient to make an assault; and, after a brief conference, they withdrew down the river to their own post.

Such was the beginning of that bitter but almost bloodless feud, which, for twenty years, subsisted between the Dutch colonists of New Netherlands and their English neighbours. Each

party seems to have conscientiously believed the other to be an "intruder;" but neither could be convinced that the offensive name was rightly its due. Undoubtedly the Dutch were the first to discover and occupy the disputed territory. Even while they admitted this, however, the English claimed the entire sovereignty of North America, on the ground that the discovery of the continent by the Cabots, in 1497 and 1498, had invested England with its sole and rightful possession.

While the traders of Plymouth and New Netherlands were thus establishing themselves on the Connecticut, Lord Say and his associates were arranging matters preparatory to a proposed removal from England to the territories assigned them by Warwick. Happily, this design was subsequently abandoned. Say, and others of the company, were undoubted friends of Puritanism, and of a certain degree of civil liberty; but they were not men likely to be pleased with the notions of freedom and the simple manners prevalent in New England. They having proposed to establish in America an order of nobility and hereditary magistracy, the earnest opposition of their more democratic associates was aroused. In the discussion that ensued, much time was spent; the ardour with which they had entered into the scheme of emigration began to grow cool; and, finally, other

objects nearer home attracting their attention, the project was wholly abandoned.

Some time previous to this conclusion, however, on the 8th of October, 1635, John Winthrop the younger, Henry Vane, and Hugh Peters, arrived at Boston, as commissioners on behalf of Say and the other proprietors of Connecticut. Along with ample means for the purpose, Winthrop had received instructions to take possession of the mouth of Fresh River, and erect a fort there. Learning that the Dutch entertained a like design, he immediately collected, and sent by sea to Connecticut, a small party of men, who began, about the middle of November, to build Fort Saybrook, near the mouth of the river. Considerable progress had been made in the work, and two cannon were already mounted, when, as was expected, a vessel from Manhattan appeared in the stream. Finding the object of their expedition anticipated, and being forbidden to land, the Dutch reluctantly put to sea again. Soon after their departure, the little party at Saybrook was joined by David Gardiner, an experienced engineer, sent out from England by the proprietors. Under his supervision the work of building the fort was pushed rapidly toward completion.

CHAPTER II.

Reverend Thomas Hooker—Silenced for nonconformity—Flies from England to Holland—Affection of his congregation for him—They emigrate to New England—Solicit Hooker to join them—He arrives at Boston in company with Stone and Haynes—Charmed by reports of the fertility of Connecticut, Hooker's people determine to emigrate there—General court of Massachusetts objects—Renew their petition in the spring of 1635—Permission granted them to emigrate—Pioneer companies plant Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield—Early and severe winter—Suffering of the colonists—Many compelled to return to Massachusetts—Trials of those left behind—Representative court established in the spring of 1636—First meeting of the court—Hooker and his congregation set out from Cambridge—Difficulties of their journey—They purchase lands at Hartford—Division of lands—Activity of the colonists—Windsor and Wethersfield receive new accessions—Churches formed—Difficulty between the Windsor people and the Plymouth colony—Fort Saybrook completed.

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DURING the same year in which the territory of Connecticut was granted to the Earl of Warwick, the Rev. Thomas Hooker, a minister of Chelmsford, in England, having been silenced for nonconformity, fled to Holland, in order to escape the usual fines and imprisonment to which dissenting clergymen were subjected. The learning and eloquence of Hooker had gained him numerous admirers; but his earnest piety and practical benevolence had secured to him what

was still better—many and true-hearted friends, eager to remove to any part of the world where they might hope to enjoy the guardianship of their beloved pastor. New England being now the chief asylum of the persecuted Nonconformists, a considerable portion of Hooker's congregation, confident of inducing him to join them, determined to emigrate there. Accordingly, in the year 1632, regardless of the dangers and hardships which they were told awaited them, they hazarded the storms of the Atlantic, and at Cambridge, in Massachusetts, found freedom in the practice of their faith and a temporary repose from their wanderings. Here they presently had the satisfaction of receiving again into their company many other members of the scattered congregation, who had preceded them and settled in various parts of the colony.

All that the new-comers now wished for was the ministerial direction of their cherished pastor. To him, therefore, they sent a pressing invitation, to join them in the wilderness. Yielding at once to their desires, in the summer of 1633 Hooker took passage in the ship Griffin for America; having first secured an assistant minister in the person of the "godly" Samuel Stone, a learned and subtle disputant, and, as Mather quaintly remarks, "a man of principles, and, in the management of those principles, both a loadstone and a flint-stone." Another among the

two hundred passengers, who crowded the Griffin, during her long voyage, was the pure-minded, sagacious, tolerant John Haynes, "a gentleman of great state" in England, subsequently chief magistrate of Massachusetts, and, still later, the first governor of Connecticut.

Landing at Boston, on the 7th of September, Hooker did not long delay in joining his expectant flock. His affectionate people crowded about him with the most joyful welcomes. Embracing them with open arms, "Now I live," he exclaimed, in the gladness of his heart; "now I live, if ye stand fast in the Lord!" On the 11th of the following month a church was constituted, of which, after solemn fasting and prayer, Hooker was formally ordained pastor, with Stone as his assistant teacher.

It was during this same year, and while the agents of New Netherlands and Plymouth were fortifying themselves at Hartford and Windsor, that John Oldham, a famous Indian trader, with three companions, pierced through the wilderness lying between the then westernmost settlements of Massachusetts Bay and the valley of the Connecticut. Returning home, they gave a very glowing description of the country they had visited; extolling highly the richness and beauty of its meadow lands, and the variety and usefulness of its natural productions. Charmed by this report, and already straitened for pasture

lands, the Cambridge people immediately sent out explorers to Connecticut, intending to remove there if the accounts they had received of it were confirmed.

The report of these explorers substantially verifying that made by Oldham and his companions, the churches of Cambridge, Dorchester, and Watertown at once determined to undertake a settlement on the Connecticut. But permission to remove was first to be obtained from the general court of Massachusetts Bay. Such permission being applied for in the spring of 1634, a feeling of decided opposition was immediately manifested. During the summer, discussions as to the necessity, expediency, and justice of the proposed movement agitated the whole colony. Before the general court, which met in September, Hooker urged at length, and with much force, the considerations which, in his opinion, rendered it incumbent upon that body to grant the liberty asked for by his people. When the vote was taken, the deputies who composed a majority of the court agreed to authorize the removal, but the magistrates were unwilling to accede to the request of the petitioners. Angry contentions ensued as to the power of the magistrates, under the circumstances, to enforce their negative. After a brief adjournment for the purpose of solemn and prayerful consideration, the reassembled court was addressed by the cele-

brated Cotton, in a sermon strongly favouring the negative of the magistrates. Before this question could be decided, its discussion was temporarily quieted by the Cambridge people agreeing to relinquish their contemplated project.

Five or six of the Watertown people, however, had so far completed their arrangements for removal, as to be impatient of further delay. On foot, and with great difficulty, they pushed their steps to the Connecticut. There, probably in the present town of Wethersfield, they built a few rude huts, sheltered by which they braved the severity of the ensuing winter.

Longing still to plant the pleasant meadows of Connecticut, Hooker and his friends, in the spring of 1635, again brought before the general court their petition of the previous year. On this occasion, after considerable difficulty, they succeeded in obtaining a favourable response; leave being granted them to emigrate wherever they desired, provided they continued under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

Immediate preparation was made for the departure of the pioneers of this new emigration. During the summer, several small parties threaded their devious way to the banks of the Connecticut. But it was not until late in October, that the great company of pioneers, sixty in all —men, women, and children—had assembled

prior to their final departure. Say's commissioners having arrived in the mean time, it was agreed with them, that, should the lords-proprietors remove to Connecticut, place was to be made for them on the river; full indemnity being guarantied to the settlers for any lands they might, in such an exigency, be compelled to vacate.

With this understanding, and having freighted several small vessels with their furniture and winter supplies, which they found it impracticable to carry with them through the wilderness, the Connecticut emigrants started upon their toilsome journey. Encumbered with their cattle, with a faintly-marked path to guide them, and delayed by the fording of numerous streams, their progress was but slow. After a fortnight's wandering, they struck the Connecticut opposite the trading-house at Windsor. Here, having crossed the river, the party divided. While the Dorchester families stopped at Windsor, those from Cambridge and Watertown proceeded lower down the stream; the former settling on the site of Hartford, and the latter at Wethersfield.

Unfortunately, the journey of the emigrants was begun too late in the year. Scarcely had they reached their new homes, when there fell a deep snow. Winter immediately set in with unusual severity, and much sooner than was expected; and before the vessels, bearing the fur-

niture and stores of the settlers, could enter the river, it was frozen up. Thus deprived of numerous necessaries, and imperfectly sheltered by their half-completed cabins, they soon began to experience almost the extreme of suffering. By the last of November, nearly all their cattle had perished. To escape impending starvation, a majority of the colonists resolved upon returning to Massachusetts. With this intention, early in December, some fifteen or twenty men started on foot through the snowy woods. On their way, one of them was lost by breaking through the ice in crossing a stream. Saved from perishing by the humanity of the Indians, the remainder reached their old homes in safety. A second company, composed of families, descended on the ice to Fort Saybrook, the building of which had been commenced about the time of their departure from Boston. After considerable difficulty and delay, they succeeded in obtaining a passage by sea to Massachusetts.

By the departure of these two companies, numbering about eighty persons, the situation of the few remaining emigrants was rendered comparatively easy. Still they endured much that was painful, and were not without cause for serious apprehensions. Though the return of their friends to Massachusetts had dispelled their fears of inevitable starvation, it had yet reduced their number to a mere handful, liable at any

moment to be massacred by the savage tribes with which they were surrounded. The cabins they inhabited afforded but a poor protection from the storms of an intensely cold winter. Game, too, grew scarce, and then disappeared entirely, so severe was the weather. Their other provisions having now failed, the unfortunate colonists were, for a time, compelled to subsist upon acorns gathered from the woods, or upon the grain they had brought with them to feed the cattle that had perished.

With the opening of spring, this last, the most alarming trial of the emigrants, was brought to an end. Cheered by the influences of the season, they began to prosecute vigorously the design of their coming. A form of government, under the general direction of Massachusetts, was presently adopted, providing for a representative court, with power to transact the ordinary business of the colony. This court was to be composed of two magistrates from each town; but, on extraordinary occasions, such as the declaring of war and the formation of treaties of peace and alliance, committees of three, from the several towns, were to act in conjunction with the regular magistrates.

After thus constituting themselves into a body politic, the little band of colonists, on the 26th of April, 1636, called the first meeting of their general court. Six members were present from

the three towns, Roger Ludlow, formerly lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts, and leader of the last year's emigration; John Steele, William Westwood, Andrew Ward, William Phelps, and William Swain. All these were persons of considerable note and influence. During the brief session of the court, various ordinances were passed for the regulation and protection of the infant settlements, and to prevent the sale of arms and ammunition to the Indians.

Not at all discouraged by their previous ill-fortune, and accompanied by many new settlers, most of those emigrants who had been compelled to abandon the colony during the winter, hastened to return when spring was fairly set in, with replenished flocks and household stores. These were the forerunners of a still greater emigration, that of the entire Cambridge congregation under Hooker and Stone, the fathers, and next to Haynes—now governor of Massachusetts, but soon to join the colonists on the Connecticut—the most influential friends and promoters of the scheme.

Early in June, having disposed of their Cambridge property, this "goodly company," numbering about a hundred souls, men, women, and children, began their journey through the rugged and dangerous forest. The wife of their pastor, being ill, had to be carried gently upon a litter; the flocks they drove before them were large and troublesome; and many of their

number, having lived at home a life of affluent ease, were quick to grow weary; so that the seventh day, which was to have terminated their wandering, closed over them still in the midst of the wilderness. Another week of labour and anxiety elapsed before they rested upon "the delightful banks" of the Connecticut.

Having arrived at the little collection of cabins forming what was subsequently called Hartford, after the English birthplace of Stone, the Cambridge emigrants bought from Sequassen, a great sachem of the River Indians, an area of land about six miles square, and extending out from and along the west bank of the Connecticut. This was at once divided into town and farm lots. Of the former, which contained each about two acres, one was given to every settler, whether of the present or of the previous emigration. The farm lots were ranged around the nucleus formed by the town itself, and varied in size according to their services, contributions, necessities, and sometimes the dignity of those to whom they were apportioned. All lots not improved, or built upon, within a year's time, were to revert to the town.

But, without this latter stimulant to exertion, Hartford is already the scene of active and cheerful labour. Not unmindful of the calamities that had befallen their friends in the previous year, the colonists are taking speedy steps

to prevent a repetition of them. Some are felling trees, which others hew into massive timbers. These again are dragged off by sturdy labourers, to be used in constructing the new houses; rude edifices, it may be, but lasting and comfortable, and stout defences against the assaults of Indian foes. Everywhere the axe, the saw, the hammer, and the spade are busily plied. There is no one idle. Even the women and the little children, for whom a school-house is already contemplated, find something to keep them employed. Upon the outskirts of the rising town the cattle are grazing, under the care of watchful keepers. Farther beyond, some emigrant, better to do in the world than his neighbours, with oxen and plough prepares his field for the future harvest. Not a few others, however, can perform this same labour only after the Indian manner, by tearing up the bushy soil with their hands and hoes. Here and there among the industrious labourers, groups of savages, gaudily painted and clad in skins, wander lazily about; stopping at intervals to admire the doings of the paleface, or to exchange for his beads and trinkets the game they bear with them. Evening coming on, labour ceases. Before their tents, or at the houses of their friends who had wintered in the wilderness, the weary emigrants partake of their evening meal. Presently, under the open sky, or beneath some branching

oak, they meet together to hear the voice of Stone, uttering the great truths and consoling words of Revelation. Then, having joined in Hooker's "rapturous pleadings with God, and praises of God," they set their watches for the night, and seek a brief repose from the toil and excitement of the day.

In the mean time, above and below Hartford, at Windsor and Wethersfield, an equally active spirit prevailed. New emigrations from Dorchester and Watertown were gradually increasing the population of these settlements. In both towns churches had been constituted; but it was not until September that the Windsor people were joined by their pastor, the Rev. Mr. Warham. Of this settlement, as being planted on lands they had bought of the Indians, the Plymouth people complained loudly, demanding from the emigrants, as a compensation for the trading-house and the lands about it, one hundred pounds in money and a sixteenth part of the territory itself. This demand was considered too high; and it was not until some time afterward that the dispute was quieted by the Plymouth men accepting a partial indemnification.

While thus the interior of the future commonwealth was being planted by a pious and laborious people, Winthrop, in the fulfilment of his commission, was providing means for their safety, by urging forward the construction of Fort Say-

brook, at the mouth of the Connecticut. So actively did he bestir himself, that long before the opening of winter the entire work was completed, garrisoned, and provisioned. In addition to the fort, a number of houses were at the same time erected, and the lands surrounding them improved to a considerable extent.

CHAPTER III.

Renewed trials—Prospect of an Indian war—Indians of Connecticut—River tribes—Mohegans—Pequods—Population—Origin of the Pequod war—Captain Stone killed by the Pequods—Oldham murdered by the Block Island Indians—Massachusetts despatches Endicott against them—He destroys their villages—Proceeds to Thames River—Calls upon the Pequods to surrender the murderers of Stone—His demand being refused, he burns two of their villages—Exasperation of the Pequods—They lurk around Fort Saybrook—Colonists massacred—Fortitude and death of John Tilley—Outhouses of the fort destroyed—Party under Lieutenant Gardiner attacked—Alarm of the Connecticut towns—Regulations adopted to prevent surprise—Indians attack Wethersfield—Connecticut towns raise troops—Headed by Mason, they depart against the Pequods—Cruelty of the Mohegan auxiliaries—Narraganset warriors join the expedition—Mason advances into the Pequod country—Attacks and burns Fort Mistic—Terrible slaughter of the Indians—Pursuit of the fugitives—Close of the war.

NOTWITHSTANDING their exertions, the Connecticut colonists were unable to do all things needful to render their life during the winter

wholly free from discomforts. Unacquainted with the nature of the soil, and with the crops best suited to it, their farming operations had resulted in a scanty harvest. Though nothing like starvation ensued from this partial failure, the price of provisions rose to a height which, to the poorer class of emigrants, was not far from distressing.

But in addition to troubles of this kind, the prospect of serious difficulties with their Indian neighbours excited in their minds the liveliest alarm. For this there was abundant cause.

No part of New England thronged more with native inhabitants than Connecticut. Among the interior hills, and along that portion of the river settled by the whites, dwelt some fifteen or twenty small tribes, known to the colonists by the general name of River Indians. The warriors of these tribes were at least a thousand; but they were a timorous race, with no singleness of interest. The year previous to the coming of the whites, they had been conquered by their enemies, the Pequods. Some of their sachems, having fled to the English settlements of Massachusetts and Plymouth, had been reinstated in their sovereignty by the people of those colonies. They had therefore welcomed the emigrants in a friendly spirit; but rather in the hope of securing their protection, than with the de-

sign or courage to afford them any effective aid as allies.

Inhabiting the greater portion of what is now the county of Windham, were the Mohegans, a powerful tribe, numbering some five hundred warriors. These were the irreconcilable enemies of the Pequods, of whom they appear to have been a revolted clan. Uncas, their chief, belonged to the line of Pequod kings.

Southward of the Mohegans, and chiefly upon what is now Thames River, dwelt the Pequods, the most powerful, warlike, and hostile to the English, of all the New England aborigines. The Pequods, strictly so called, could bring into the field at least seven hundred fighting men; but there were besides, under the authority of their great sachem Sassacus, twenty-six smaller tribes, who inhabited both shores of Long Island Sound as far west as the Connecticut, and even beyond it, nearly to the Hudson.

The aggregate population of all these divisions and subdivisions of the Connecticut Indians was full sixteen thousand. Of this number, one-half, perhaps, entertained friendly feelings toward the whites; but the hatred of the remainder was deadly and implacable, and had already manifested itself.

During the year 1634, one Captain Stone and his crew, having entered the Connecticut to trade, were put to death by a party of Pequods. With

some show of justice, the Indians, when charged with this murder, pleaded the necessity of self-defence. Subsequently quarrelling with the Dutch, who, until this time, had been the only Europeans to traffic with them, they sent messengers to Massachusetts, asking a trade with that colony, and also the good offices of its magistrates in bringing about a peace between them and the Narragansets of Rhode Island, with whom they were then at war. With both requests the Massachusetts authorities readily complied; the desired reconciliation being effected, and a vessel despatched to the Connecticut to trade. Winthrop, however, soon complained that the murderers of Captain Stone had not been given up, according to a promise which, it was asserted, the Pequod ambassadors had made. If they had made such a promise, the tribe now resolutely refused to fulfil it, tendering a present of furs and wampum in satisfaction for the murder.

In this shape the affair rested for nearly two years. But, about the time that Hooker's congregation arrived at Hartford, Oldham, the Indian trader, having been murdered by a party of Block Island Indians, subjects of the Narragansets, Massachusetts called out a military force of ninety men, to proceed to Block Island and chastise the offending tribe. The circumstances of this murder recalling that of Stone to their

minds, the magistrates ordered Endicott, the commander of the contemplated expedition, to visit the Pequods, after he had put all the male inhabitants of Block Island to the sword, and obtain from them, either amicably or by force, the murderers of Stone, a thousand fathoms of wampum for damages, and several of their children as hostages.

Having landed, after a slight skirmish, on Block Island, Endicott remained there two days; destroying, meanwhile, sixty wigwams and nearly two hundred acres of standing maize, but killing no Indians. He then sailed to Saybrook, whence he marched his party to a Pequod village on the Thames. This, his demands being refused and his troops assailed, he burned. One Indian was slain in the skirmish. Returning to the Connecticut, he laid a second village in ashes, and then embarked again for Boston.

In this expedition no Englishman lost his life, and much harm was done the Indians. But, instead of being overawed by the energetic enforcement of what were claimed as just demands, the Pequods, a warlike and sanguinary people, under the sway of a high-spirited and haughty prince, were exasperated to madness by an attack which they deemed without provocation. During the whole autumn and winter their war-parties lurked in the vicinity of Fort Saybrook, cutting off almost every person who ventured beyond the

protection of its artillery. Fifteen or twenty of the English were thus taken and put to death, in many instances with the most horrible cruelties. One of these unfortunate persons, John Tilley by name, suffering his hands and then his feet to be cut off, and gashes to be made in his body and filled with live coals, without exhibiting, even by a groan, the intensity of his anguish, is said to have drawn from his tormentors the declaration that he was "a stout man," by which they conveyed the idea that he possessed the highest attributes of a great warrior.

Following up a series of similar murders, the Indians, toward the spring of 1637, pressed still more closely the siege of Fort Saybrook. The houses, barns, and haystacks belonging to it were set on fire and destroyed; and, in March, Lieutenant Gardiner, the commandant, having gone out with thirteen men to burn over the marshes, was ambushed, and regained the fort only by hard fighting, and with the loss of three of his party. Thus beleaguered, the garrison suffered unceasingly from alarm and anxiety; of which, however, they were presently relieved by the arrival of Captain Underhill from Massachusetts with reinforcements.

Though during the winter the three Connecticut towns were happily exempted from Indian attacks, they were yet in a state of fearful apprehension, on account of the sanguinary scenes

enacted such a short distance below them. Every precaution was taken to prevent surprise. All the able-bodied males, numbering about two hundred and fifty, were ordered to train regularly. Constant and strict watches were kept; and the town-officers were required to see that every inhabitant was well supplied with arms and ammunition. No one went into the fields without a gun upon his shoulder. On Sabbath days, the people came to church armed and equipped, in apprehension of being attacked before the service was concluded. This practice, as well as others of a similar character adopted during the same period, was kept up for many years subsequent to the events that rendered it necessary.

Meeting at Hartford, late in February, 1637, the general court of the Connecticut towns sent to the Massachusetts authorities a letter, in which they complained bitterly of Endicott's expedition as the cause of their present distress. Expressing their desire that Massachusetts would prosecute the war more effectively, they intimated their own design to prepare for a vigorous campaign against the Pequods.

In the following April the alarm of the colonists was raised to the highest pitch. The lands occupied by the Wethersfield planters had been given to them by Sequeen, a sachem of the River Tribes, on condition that he might live with them, and enjoy their protection. Having been

driven away when about to build his wigwam, and being refused satisfaction for the wrong thus done him, Sequeen, burning for revenge, at the head of a party of Pequods, waylaid the Wethersfield people as they were going out in the meadows to work, and killed nine of their number, six men and three women. Two girls were taken prisoners at the same time; but they were presently restored to their homes, through the kindness of some Dutch traders.

In the mean time, the Massachusetts general court had raised two hundred troops with which to renew the war. Early in May, forty of these, under Captain Patrick, were despatched to the Pequod country. Through the active interference of Roger Williams, the founder and father of Rhode Island, who, at the risk of his life, had visited the Narragansets, a pending alliance between that tribe and the Pequods was broken off, and Canonicus and Miantonimo, its chief sachems, induced to promise auxiliaries to Massachusetts in the contemplated expedition.

But before Patrick and his command could reach the scene of hostilities, the Connecticut people had taken the field and nearly completed the war. Fully aroused by the attack upon Wethersfield, a court of committees and magistrates met at Hartford, on the 1st of May. Premising with the declaration that they had good reason to believe that the Pequods were

striving to form an Indian confederation against the whites, they voted for the raising of ninety men to attack them in their strongholds. To this undertaking Hartford contributed forty-two men, Windsor twenty, and Wethersfield eighteen. Stone was appointed chaplain of the expedition; and John Mason, a trained and experienced soldier, received from Hooker, with solemn ceremony and prayer, the staff of command.

After spending the previous night in religious exercises, on the morning of Wednesday, the 11th of May, the little army, joined by sixty Mohegans under Uncas, embarked at Hartford in three vessels, and dropped slowly down the river to Fort Saybrook, where they arrived on the Monday following. Much anxiety was now entertained as to the faithfulness of their Indian allies, who, weary of the voyage from Hartford, had been set ashore at their own request. But all fears on this point were presently dispelled, by the Mohegans coming in with five Pequod scalps and a prisoner. This prisoner Uncas insisted upon sacrificing, according to the custom of his tribe; and, though loath to do so, the English were compelled by policy to yield to his demand. A horrible scene of cruelty and cannibalism now ensued. Torn limb from limb, the miserable savage was devoured piecemeal by his captors.

Detained at Saybrook by contrary winds, the leaders of the expedition discussed meanwhile the proper plan of attack. Mason was for taking a circuitous route through the Narraganset country, and thus falling upon the Pequods from an unexpected quarter; but most of his officers thought it best to follow their instructions, and proceed directly to the mouth of the Thames. According to the custom of the times, Stone, at the request of the friends of both plans, passed nearly all Thursday night in prayer, importuning God for direction. On the following morning Mason's officers yielded; and, a fair wind offering, the troops embarked for Narraganset Bay, with Underhill and his twenty men in company.

Sunday was spent at Wickford harbour in religious services. On Monday, the 22d, the captains of the expedition repaired to the court of Canonicus; with whom, and the young chief Miantonimo, a council was held, at which two hundred Narraganset warriors attended. "Your design is good," said Miantonimo; "but your numbers are too weak to brave the Pequods, who have mighty chieftains, and are skilful in battle." Nearly two hundred of his warriors, however, subsequently joined the expedition; and these, with others who presently enlisted with the English, swelled the number of Mason's Indian allies to about five hundred.

Directing his little fleet to repair to the

Thames, Mason, guided by a friendly Pequod, urged his march across the wilderness toward the enemy's strongholds. There were two forts, or stockaded villages, a short distance east of the Thames. Having arrived within nine miles of the principal fort, which Sassacus, the great sachem, commanded in person, Mason signified his intention to assault both villages at once. Panic-stricken, one-third of his auxiliaries immediately withdrew from the enterprise. Thus deserted, and finding his men wellnigh wearied out with marching, the English captain changed his plan, and proceeded to the nearest fort at Mistic, situated on a commanding eminence not far from the seashore.

Woquash, the guide, proved faithful. About dusk in the evening of May the 25th, the English pitched their camp in the immediate neighbourhood of the Indian stockade. Having seen Mason's fleet sail by a few days previous, the Pequods, supposing that he did not dare to assail them, had given themselves up to feasts and rejoicings. Their songs of exultation were distinctly heard during the night. Toward morning, however, the sound of these died away. The unsuspecting savages were buried in profound sleep.

An hour or so before dawn, favoured by the light of an unclouded moon, the English, led by Mason and Underhill, and followed reluctantly

by their auxiliaries, marched in two divisions to the assault. As Mason was about entering the fort, a dog barked. Immediately an Indian cried out, "English! English!" Rallying in an instant, the startled savages sought to repel their assailants by pouring upon them through the palisades a continuous discharge of arrows; but the deadly fire of the English musketry soon drove them back into the shelter of their enclosed wigwams. Pausing a moment for breath, the assailants rushed in. A fierce hand to hand conflict ensued. With despairing valour, the Pequods strove to repel the steel-clad men of Connecticut; but their clubs and arrows were of little avail. Yet their numbers and courage retarded victory. Seeing some of his men fall wounded, and knowing that the rest were faint with fatigue, Mason, to shorten the fight, seized a burning brand and threw it among the light mats with which the Indian cabins were covered. While, with inconceivable rapidity, the flames spread from wigwam to wigwam, the assailants, forming in two lines around the devoted fort, prepared to put all to death who might attempt to escape. Pierced with bullets as they essayed to clamber over the palisades, and hacked to pieces, when they succeeded, by the broadswords of those without, the despairing Pequods would rush madly into their burning wigwams and there perish miserably.

For more than an hour the work of massacre went on without cessation. No mercy was shown; not even to the old men, to the women, or to the little children. At length, as day was dawning, the roar of the conflagration and the horrid shrieks and yells of the savages, growing faint and fainter, finally ceased, and the victors entered the fortress they had filled with carnage and desolation. "Great and doleful," writes Underhill—"great and doleful was the bloody sight, to see so many souls lie gasping on the ground, so thick you could hardly pass along." Of six hundred Indians, men, women, and children, but seven escaped, and but seven were made prisoners.

Of the English, only two were killed. Some twenty, however—a fourth part of their number—had received wounds more or less severe. Exhausted, without water, and in the midst of an alarmed and hostile country, their position was one of peril. Three hundred Pequod warriors were already marching upon them, from the village of Sassacus. But, as the sun uprose, Mason's anxiety was relieved; for at a distance he descried his own vessels, with that bearing Patrick and the Massachusetts men, entering the Thames. Sending his wounded forward to the fleet, he prepared to follow. As he left the scene of victory, the Pequods came in sight. Fearful was the outburst of their horror and

rage, when they beheld the blackening embers of their village, and the disfigured, half-consumed bodies of so many of their kindred. Stamping upon the ground, rending their hair, and yelling hideously, they rushed after the destroyers, blind to every thing but vengeance. Driving back their furious onslaught with successive and deadly volleys of musketry, Mason conducted a safe retreat to the river. Placing his wounded on shipboard, he himself, with twenty men, crossed the wilderness to Saybrook, where he was "nobly entertained with many great guns."

Having burned their remaining fortress, the Pequods fled to the shelter of tangled thickets and almost inaccessible swamps. But, late in June, Captain Stoughton arrived with the main body of the Massachusetts forces. The colonists had determined to cut off completely a people, who, in the quaint language of the day, "were thorns in their eyes, and slashing scourges in their sides." In prosecuting this work, Stoughton, being joined by forty Connecticut men under Mason, surrounded about a hundred savages in a swamp, and captured them. The males, thirty in number, were slain; of the remaining women and children, some were given to the Narraganset auxiliaries, and not a few distributed as slaves among the Massachusetts colonists.

Two sachems, however, had been saved from slaughter, to act as guides in the pursuit of

Sassacus, who, with many warriors, was endeavouring to escape to the Hudson. But, during the march, finding that no information could be obtained from these chiefs, Stoughton had them beheaded at a place since called Sachem-Head, in the present town of Guilford. Soon afterward, about three hundred of the flying Pequods were discovered in a swamp, at no great distance from what is now the city of New Haven. Here they were surrounded, and attacked as vigorously as the tangled and miry condition of the ground would permit. Many friendly Indians having fled panic-stricken into the swamp, a parley was presently had, and life offered to all "whose hands were not in English blood." Some two hundred, mostly old men, women, and children, tremblingly accepted of this offer; but nearly a hundred warriors boldly declared that they would die fighting, rather than surrender and be slaves. The battle then commenced again, and lasted until nightfall; the English meanwhile gradually narrowing the circle in which they had enclosed the enemy. At dark they set their watches, and prepared to end the fight early the next day. But toward morning a dense fog arose, under cover of which the Pequod warriors, falling in a mass upon a weak part of the assailing line, broke through, and of about ninety all, excepting eighteen slain in the struggle, effected their escape.

With this event the war virtually closed. Sassacus, the Pequod king, being presently killed by the Mohawks, to whose protection he had fled, most of the troops were disbanded. During the fall, however, the work of extermination was prosecuted diligently by the Indian auxiliaries, who followed, like bloodhounds, upon the track of the scattered remnants of the unfortunate Pequods. The heads and hands of numbers thus hunted out and killed, were brought into Hartford and Windsor. Many were taken prisoners, and sent to the West Indies to be sold as slaves. Thus harassed, most of the survivors, about two hundred, exclusive of women and children, came in their despair to Hartford, and surrendered themselves to the pleasure of the colonists. Being incorporated with the Narragansets and Mohegans, they were forbidden to inhabit their own country, or to call themselves Pequods, and subjected, besides, to an annual tribute. Nationally, and almost individually, a people once numerous and powerful had ceased to exist.

CHAPTER IV.

Effect of the war on the Indians—Subsequent distress of the colonists—First public tax levied—Settlement of New Haven as an independent colony—Plantation covenant—Lands purchased from the natives—City of New Haven laid out—Planters of Connecticut frame a constitution—Its liberal character—First assembly meets—John Haynes governor—Primary code of laws enacted—Town of Saybrook founded—Proceedings of the constitutional convention of New Haven—Scriptural character of the constitution framed by it—Eaton governor of New Haven—Davenport's charge to the governor—New towns planted—Connecticut colony's difficulty with Sequeen, sachem of the River Indians—Singular decision of the Massachusetts elders—Expedition against the Pequods—Hopkins governor—New towns planted—Governor of New Netherlands complains of English encroachments—New Haven sends out colonists to the Delaware—They commence settlements there—Dutch governor protests—Sends troops to destroy the new plantations—Complete success of the expedition—New Haven remonstrates—Second code of laws in Connecticut.

Two years after the close of the war with the Pequods, when some three hundred members of that tribe, having ventured to re-enter their ancient hunting-grounds, were confronted by a small party of Connecticut people, under Mason, they declared that they would not fight the English—"for they were not men, but spirits." Such was the feeling of superstitious terror with which not only the Pequods, but all the savages of New

England, had been inspired by the fierce energy and stern daring exhibited by the colonists in the late brief but sanguinary contest. It was owing to the prevalence of this feeling, that, for so many years afterward, no serious Indian war disturbed the quiet of the settlements. In the prospect of such a period of peace, the New England churches set apart a day for general thanksgiving.

The winter following was one of extreme severity. From the first of November until the last of March the country was covered with snow—in many places to the thickness of three and four feet. During this hard season, the Connecticut settlers experienced the most serious evil that resulted from the war. So many of them having been called away during the planting season, their crops fell short. Corn became scarce, and the price of it rose to an extraordinary height. But having struggled through the winter, the colonists, early in the spring of 1638, were relieved from their distress by obtaining fifty canoe loads of corn from the Indians inhabiting what is now the town of Deerfield in Massachusetts. Previous to this, early in February, the general court levied the first public tax —five hundred and fifty pounds—to defray the expenses of the war. Reorganizing the militia, they presently appointed Mason major-general, with a salary of forty pounds a year. Laws

were also enacted to punish all persons who should in any way infringe upon the rights of the Indians.

In the mean time preparations had been made to establish a second colony in Connecticut. The numerous and opulent company engaged in this undertaking had arrived at Boston, in the summer of 1637, under the chief direction of Theophilus Eaton and Edward Hopkins, both persons of worth and ability, and possessed of extensive means. John Davenport, a Puritan divine of London, eminent for sanctity and learning, accompanied the emigrants as their spiritual guide.

Hoping to retain in their midst a company so pious and wealthy, the Massachusetts people offered them very advantageous settlements there. But, liking not the heterodox opinions at this time rife in Massachusetts, Davenport and his flock determined to remove by themselves, and plant an independent colony.

Accordingly, having selected, during the previous fall, a place for settlement at Quinnipiack, near the head of a large bay on the coast west of the Connecticut, where a few of their number spent the winter, Eaton and his friends, late in March, 1638, embarked thither, and, after a fortnight's voyage, safely reached the scene of their contemplated labours. On the Sabbath following, April the 18th, Davenport preached

his first sermon under the still leafless branches of a spreading oak. Soon afterward a day of fasting and prayer was set apart, at the close of which the colonists formed what they called a "plantation covenant;" binding themselves "to be ordered," in civil as well as in religious matters, "by the rules which the Scriptures held forth to them."

After a wet and gloomy spring, during which their corn had to be planted two, and, in some instances, three times, a delightful summer shone upon the labours of the Quinnipiack colonists, freeing them, as well as their neighbours on the Connecticut, from serious apprehensions of a winter of scarcity.

Late in November a council was held with Momauquin, sachem of the few resident Indians. Having "tasted the protection of the English" during the previous autumn, when sorely pressed by the Mohawks and Pequods, Momauquin bestowed upon Eaton and his company all the lands of Quinnipiack; covenanting, at the same time, not to disturb the colonists, and to keep true faith with them in every respect. On their part, the English promised the Indians their further protection, and lands enough for them to plant on at Quinnipiack; and, "by way of free and thankful retribution," they presented Momauquin, and the warriors his attendants, with twelve English coats, "twelve alchymy

spoons," a number of hoes and hatchets, and four cases of French cutlery. A few days afterward, a second tract, north of Quinnipiack, and containing one hundred and thirty square miles, was bought for thirteen coats; the Indians being allowed planting-grounds, and liberty to hunt upon the lands.

Having thus secured a considerable territory, the colonists proceeded to lay out, in regular and spacious squares, the ground-plan of the present beautiful city of New Haven.

Finding themselves without the limits of the Massachusetts patent, the free planters of the three Connecticut towns assembled at Hartford, on the 14th of January, 1639, and adopted a written constitution, of unexampled liberality, and one which their descendants have as yet deviated from in no essential particular. All residents of good character, whether church members or not, might be admitted freemen. A governor, with six assistants or magistrates, and a house of deputies, were to compose the general court or assembly, with power to enact laws for the government of the colony, and to make judicial decisions. This court was to meet annually in September; but, if there was urgent occasion, it might be summoned oftener by the governor and magistrates, or even by the town constables, if the governor and magistrates refused to convoke it in compliance with the wishes

of the colonists. Upon the house of deputies, which was clothed with the full voice and authority of all the freemen, devolved the election of the governor, the magistrates, and other colonial officers. For this purpose the house was to meet annually, in April. The governor, who had a casting vote, was to be chosen from among the magistrates, could not be elected for two years in succession, and was required to be a church member. The number of deputies from each town was to be in proportion to its population. Taxes could be levied only by committees, numerically equal, from all of the towns.

In April, the first house of deputies under this constitution assembled at Hartford. John Haynes was chosen governor. Ludlow, one of the six magistrates elected at the same time, acted as deputy-governor; while Hopkins, who had settled at Hartford, and was also a magistrate, received the post of colonial secretary. All these officers appear to have served gratuitously; and it was not until 1648, that a law was passed granting the governor and his deputy a yearly salary of thirty pounds each.

Having assembled in October following, the general court enacted a code of laws, any deficiencies in which were to be supplied "by some clear and plain rule of the word of God." During this session, each town was vested with authority to create two courts; one for the decision

of minor cases of debt and trespass, and the other, called the "particular court," was to have a jurisdiction similar to that of the present county and superior courts, though with rather extensive discretionary powers.

Meanwhile two new towns had been planted under the jurisdiction of Connecticut: Fairfield, by eight or ten families from Windsor, headed by the restless Ludlow, who had become acquainted with the country while pursuing the Pequods; and Stratford, by a number of settlers from Roxbury and Concord in Massachusetts.

Fort Saybrook, and the lands in its vicinity, still remained with the English proprietors, some of whom yet contemplated removing there, and founding a colony. With this design, about midsummer, arrived George Fenwick and his amiable wife, accompanied by their own family and several others. By these the town of Saybrook was laid out, with regular streets and extensive squares, as for a great commercial city.

In the mean time, having received large accessions, the free planters of New Haven determined to model a more perfect form of government than the plantation covenant, under which they had lived for more than a year. Assembling for this purpose in a large barn at Quinnipiack, on the 4th of June, 1639, they were addressed by Davenport in a sermon, on

the text from Proverbs: "Wisdom has builded her house, she has hewn out her seven pillars." The church, which is the house of God—such was the pith of the preacher's remarks—should rest upon seven pillars, or principal brethren, and to these must all succeeding members be added. Solemn prayer followed the sermon. Then, having directed their attention to the greatness and importance of their undertaking, Davenport propounded to the assembly many questions, upon which were framed resolutions—

"That the Scriptures are a perfect rule for the direction and government of all men.

"That, as in matters which concerned the gathering and ordering of a church, so, likewise, in all concerning civil order, they would be governed by that rule.

"That all those who had desired to settle in the plantation as freemen, had done so with the purpose and desire that they might be admitted into church fellowship.

"That all the free planters held themselves bound to establish such civil order as might best conduce to the securing of the purity and peace of the ordinance to themselves and their posterity.

"That church members only should be free burgesses; and that they only should choose magistrates among themselves, to have power of

transacting all the public civil affairs of the plantation."

It now became necessary to organize a church, without which there could be neither freemen nor magistrates. Proceeding with great care, the assembly selected a committee of twelve, with power to designate seven of their own number as the pillars of the congregation. These seven were to be intrusted with the sole authority to admit others to church membership.

After mature deliberation, Eaton, Davenport, and five others, were designated by the committee. Convening on the 25th of October, after solemn prayer, the "seven pillars" declared every previous executive trust to be utterly abrogated. All church members were then admitted into the court.

A body of freemen being thus provided, Davenport expounded to them, "from the sacred oracles," the character of civil magistrates. Then followed an election for governor and magistrates; Eaton being chosen for the former office, to which he was annually re-elected till his death, in 1657.

After the elections were concluded, Davenport, rising up in open court, turned toward the new governor, and charged him in the words of Moses to Israel:—

"Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his

brother, and the stranger that is with him. Ye shall not respect persons in judgment; but ye shall hear the small as well as the great: ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; for the judgment is God's; and the cause that is too hard for you, bring it unto me, and I will hear it."

After this a court of election was established, to meet annually in the last week of October. Then it was decreed "that God's word should be the only rule for ordering the affairs of government in the commonwealth." There being no authority for it in the Scriptures, trial by jury was not sanctioned.

To the new commonwealth thus constituted, two new towns were added during the year. Driven away by discords in the church, several Wethersfield families came down to the seacoast, where they bought lands from the natives, and planted the town of Milford; which, as the Indians were numerous in that neighbourhood, they encircled with nearly a mile of palisades. About the same time, a large company of farmers, from Surrey and Kent counties in England, began to build up the town of Guilford, on the extensive meadows halfway between New Haven and the Connecticut. In both these settlements the form of government was modelled after that of New Haven.

While the two Connecticut colonies were thus

prospering, their people had not been without occasions for anxiety. With Sequeen, the sachem who had brought the Pequods upon Wethersfield, a difficulty arose in regard to that affair, which nearly led to a war with the River Indians. But the case being referred to the elders and magistrates of Massachusetts, they decided that the Indian, having been first wronged, was justified, by the law of nations, in righting himself either by force or fraud. This singular decision was perfectly in accordance with the policy which had led to the destruction of the Pequods for the injuries done to a few individuals. In obedience to it, and in consequence of the intercessions of the New Haven people, the dispute was suffered to rest.

Shortly afterward an expedition was despatched, with Mason at its head, against the Pequods, many of whom had returned to their former homes, notwithstanding they had been forbidden to do so by their conquerors. They retired, however, without fighting, before Mason; who proceeded to burn their new wigwams, and carry off a large store of corn they had collected.

In the spring of 1640, Hopkins was chosen governor of the Connecticut towns, an office to which he and Haynes were alternately elected till 1654.

During the year both Connecticut and New Haven made several large purchases of lands,

and received accessions to the number of their towns. Under the jurisdiction of the former, Norwalk was planted by a few families; but several years elapsed before the settlement gave evidences of activity. Still farther west, the lands of Stamford and Greenwich were bought for New Haven. The former town, however, was not settled till the next year, and then by a second offshoot from the still discordant congregation of Wethersfield. Greenwich, ultimately the frontier town in that direction, and begun by Captain Patrick, an old companion in arms of Underhill, was presently induced to submit to the jurisdiction of New Netherlands. Crossing over to the western end of Long Island, a party of Massachusetts people attempted a settlement there, under a grant from Lord Stirling. Finding the arms of New Netherlands affixed to a tree, they tore them down, and in their stead set up an "unhandsome face." For this insult the "intruders" were arrested, and compelled to apologize. They did not, however, leave the island; but, retiring to its eastern end, founded Southampton, and put themselves under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. Not far from this town Southold was begun, by a few Puritan families, and annexed to New Haven.

Of these "encroachments" upon land claimed as belonging to Holland, Kieft, the fiery go-

vernor of New Netherlands, complained bitterly, as he had previously done with regard to the settlement at New Haven. Nor did he forget to protest against the conduct of the Hartford people, who, he declared, had subjected the traders of the House of Good Hope to numerous petty insults and annoyances, with the design of breaking up that post altogether.

But the complaints and protests of Kieft checked not at all the "aggressive spirit" of his Puritan neighbours. Desirous of making still more extensive settlements, the people of New Haven, during the fall of 1640, purchased lands upon the Delaware Bay and River, and prepared to colonize them. Accordingly, in the spring of 1641, some fifty families embarked at Quinnipiack, and set sail for the new plantations. On their way they touched at Manhattan, and informed the Dutch governor of their designs, Claiming for New Netherlands the country on the Delaware, Kieft immediately protested. The New England men, however, proceeded on their voyage; and, on the banks of Salem Creek in New Jersey, and at the mouth of the Schuylkill, laid the foundations of two settlements. But scarcely a month elapsed before an armed force, sent by Kieft from Manhattan, visited the new plantations, burned the houses of the English, detained their goods, and finally put a stop

to the undertaking. A spirited but unavailing protest followed from New Haven.

Meanwhile the Connecticut towns had been busily preparing a code of laws. In accordance with scriptural authority, death was made the punishment of ten offences, including the worship of any but the true God; blasphemy; witchcraft, or the consulting of evil spirits; several crimes of uncleanness; bearing false witness to take away life; man stealing, and rebellion. Arson, notorious stubbornness in children of a certain age, and the cursing or striking of parents, were afterward added to the number of capital offences. Imprisonment for at least three years, together with a fine or corporal punishment, was to be inflicted upon persons who should desert the English settlements, and live "in a profane or heathenish manner."

CHAPTER V.

Confederation of the New England colonies—Quarrel of Uncas and Miantonimo—Colonies side with Uncas—Miantonimo attacks him—Is defeated and taken captive—Claims the protection of the English—Colonial commissioners condemn him to death—He is executed by Uncas—Miantonimo's tribe persist in making war upon Uncas—Threatened by the colonies, they agree to a treaty of peace—Difficulties with the governor of New Netherlands—Cheerless opening of the year 1644—Monthly fast proclaimed—Road ordered to be laid out from Boston to the Connecticut—Saybrook purchased by Connecticut—New Haven people appoint an agent to apply for a charter—Their losses in planting—They fit out a vessel to trade with England—Vessel sails with the charter agent on board—Is never heard of again—Gloom of the colonists—Death and character of Hooker—New London settled by Winthrop—Disputes between Connecticut and Massachusetts—Pequods placed under English protection—Renewed difficulties with the government of New Netherlands—Temporarily arranged by a treaty with Stuyvesant.

EVER since the Pequod war, a union of the New England colonies had been in contemplation. Articles of confederation were proposed in 1638, but Connecticut having objections, the subject was dropped for a brief period. The vicinity of the Dutch—a powerful and already quarrelsome neighbour—together with apprehensions of danger from the Indians, at length induced the Connecticut people to waive their ob-

jections to the proposed plan of union. Renewing their negotiations in regard to the matter, they were finally successful. On the 19th of May, 1643, the four colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven, under the style of the "United Colonies of New England," entered into a "perpetual league, offensive and defensive," "both for preserving and propagating the truth and liberty of the gospel, and for their own mutual safety and welfare." Two commissioners from each colony, meeting annually, or oftener if necessary, were to transact the business of the confederacy. To these commissioners, who were required to be church members, was especially assigned the management of Indian affairs and foreign relations, with the exclusive power of declaring war or making peace. Each colony, carefully reserving its rights of local jurisdiction, bound itself to observe the decisions of six out of the eight commissioners; and, in case of war, to furnish its quota of men and expenditures in proportion to the number of male inhabitants. This, the earliest of Anglo-American confederacies, remained in existence forty years, and was only then dissolved by the arbitrary annulment of the colonial charters by James II.

The union was a timely one. Already, during the previous year, difficulties had arisen between the Mohegans and Narragansets, which threaten-

ed to involve the colonists in an Indian war. The Mohegan Uncas having quarrelled with Miantonimo, sachem of the Narragansets, accused him and his people of plotting a general massacre of the English. Alarmed by this intelligence, Connecticut advised a sudden, anticipatory attack upon the accused tribe. More prudently, however, Massachusetts caused the Indians to be deprived of the English firelocks, with which many of them had been supplied by the cupidity of reckless traders, and summoned Miantonimo to appear at Boston, and answer to the charge that had been brought against him. Though indignant at being thus arraigned as a criminal, the Narraganset chieftain promptly obeyed the summons. As nothing could be satisfactorily proved against him, he was dismissed; but the court required him to promise not to make war upon Uncas, without having first obtained permission from them.

Soon after the union of the New England colonies, Uncas and Miantonimo renewed their quarrel. Having complained to the governors of Connecticut and Massachusetts, that his enemy had done him injury, the latter chief was "told to take his own course" in obtaining satisfaction. Upon this he gathered suddenly together a thousand warriors, and marched into the country of the Mohegans. On a broken and rocky plain, not far from the present town of

Norwich, he was met by Uncas. Finding his forces outnumbered, the wily Mohegan resorted to stratagem. Waiting until the Narragansets were within bowshot, he stepped out in front of his warriors, and, demanding a parley, proposed to Miantonimo that they two should decide, in single combat, the fate of their respective armies. "My men came to fight," was the reply of his impetuous antagonist, "and they shall fight." At these words Uncas fell upon the ground; when, all at once, letting fly a deadly shower of arrows, his warriors, with fierce cries and yells, rushed furiously to battle. Panic-struck by a movement so sudden and unexpected, the Narragansets fled in the utmost consternation. Many were killed, and some taken captive. Among the latter was Miantonimo. Carried to Hartford, the fallen chief, uttering the first words of his captivity, claimed protection from the English.

Meeting soon after, in September, the New England commissioners, at the request of Uncas, took the fate of Miantonimo into consideration. Many charges were advanced against the prisoner, but the evidence relied upon to sustain them, appears to have been, for the most part, that of his hereditary enemies. Yet, in the opinion of his judges, it was conclusive. Guilty though he might be, Miantonimo still had claims upon the gratitude of the colonists. Hitherto he had

been their unwavering friend, and even now it was by no means certain that he bore them ill will. His services as an ally, during the Pequod war, had been considered of the highest importance. Yet Uncas, whom it was alleged he had more than once attempted to murder, had similar, and perhaps stronger claims to English gratitude. Chiefly upon this charge of murder he was condemned to death.

Returning to Hartford, the Connecticut commissioners delivered Miantonimo to Uncas, with directions to take him beyond the borders of the colony, and there execute him, but without the customary cruelties of an Indian execution. Receiving their prisoner, the Mohegans bore him to the vicinity of the late battle-field. At the instant the appointed ground was reached, Uncas, stealing behind the unfortunate chieftain, buried a hatchet in his head. Then, cutting a strip of flesh from the shoulder of his slaughtered rival, he devoured it eagerly, declaring "that it was the sweetest meat he ever ate—it made his heart strong." With the fate thus inflicted upon Miantonimo, the faithful benefactor of the founders of Rhode Island, there have been many to sympathize; and but a few years have elapsed since a block of granite, inscribed with his name, was placed upon the spot where he fell and was buried.

Burning to revenge the loss of their sachem,

the tribe of Miantonimo persisted in waging war upon Uncas, notwithstanding the commissioners had ordered them to desist. At length, determined to protect their allies at all hazards, the united colonies, having previously garrisoned the Mohegan country with a few Connecticut troops, called for three hundred volunteers to bring the Narragansets to terms. Alarmed at the prospect of a war with the English, the offending tribes finally accepted the mediation of the colonial commissioners, and made peace with Uncas. But, as regarded the Narragansets, the conditions of this submissive peace were hard and grievous; and for many years the colonies were greatly troubled in exacting obedience to them.

Meanwhile letters were received from the governor of New Netherlands, congratulating the New England colonies on their late confederation. At the same time, however, he complained of "insufferable wrong" by the Connecticut people upon the Dutch garrison of the House of Good Hope. On behalf of Connecticut and New Haven, the commissioners replied in a letter loaded with recriminations, and charging the garrison of Good Hope with many unlawful acts and aggressions. To this Kieft sent a rejoinder asserting the claim of the States-General to both shores of Long Island Sound.

The year 1644 opened cheerlessly. To the

Narraganset troubles was added a sanguinary contest between the Dutch of New Netherlands and their Indian neighbours, which threatened to involve the people of Connecticut and New Haven in its horrors. For a while the two colonies were in a state of constant apprehension. A general monthly fast was proclaimed, to begin on the 4th of January. During the year, however, this alarm subsided in a great degree, and affairs went on smoothly and prosperously. Meeting at Hartford, in September, the commissioners of the united colonies ordered a road to be laid out from Boston to Connecticut. They also recommended to the several general courts the petition of the Rev. Mr. Shepard; in compliance with which, contributions of grain and provisions were ordered to be sent annually to Cambridge, for the support of the university there.

Early in 1645 arrangements were concluded with Fenwick, the founder of Saybrook, by which, on certain conditions being fulfilled, Connecticut was to become the owner of Fort Saybrook, and to have the right of jurisdiction over all the lands between the Narraganset and Connecticut Rivers, mentioned in the patent of Warwick to Lords Say and Brooke.

Having thus obtained a title to the soil, the fathers of Connecticut, content with the security afforded them by the confederacy, seem to

have desired no guaranty for their independence from the home government. The people of New Haven, however, had already appointed an agent to procure a charter from England. So far their enterprise of planting a colony had been attended with alarming losses. Hoping to retrieve their fast-declining fortunes, a number of the principal colonists built a vessel of one hundred tons burden, and freighted her for England, with the best part of their commercial wealth. In this vessel embarked Mr. Gregson, the agent employed to obtain the desired charter. Having had a way cut for her through the ice in New Haven harbour, the ship sailed early in January, 1647; but she was never heard of again. Disheartened at this loss, in connection with their previous ones, the colonists at one time contemplated abandoning their colony altogether; nor was the attempt to obtain a charter renewed until the lapse of many years.

In July, 1647, "closing his eyes with his own hands, and gently stroking his own forehead," expired, at Hartford, in the sixty-first year of his age, Thomas Hooker, "the father and founder of Connecticut." His life, says Trumbull, had been an exhibition "of the most exemplary patience and goodness. Naturally a man of strong and lively passions, he obtained a happy government of himself. In his day he was one of the most animated and powerful preachers in New

England. In conversation he was pleasant and entertaining, but always grave. He was affable, condescending, and charitable. Yet his appearance and conduct were of such becoming majesty, authority and prudence, that he could do more with a word, or a look, than other men could with a severe discipline." His charities were numerous and unceasing, and "it was no uncommon thing for him to give away five or ten pounds at a time to poor widows, orphans, and necessitous people." "He was," in the language of his contemporaries, "one of a thousand whose diligence and unweariedness, besides his other endowments in the work committed to him, were almost beyond compare—the one rich pearl with which Europe more than repaid America for the treasures from her coast."

Meanwhile, during the summer previous, a settlement had been commenced at Pequod Harbour. The leader in this enterprise was John Winthrop, the active, persevering, and far-sighted son of the governor of Massachusetts. Claiming the country on the strength of a verbal gift from Sashions, a Nehantic sachem, Winthrop had planted under a Massachusetts commission; but both his claim, and the jurisdiction thus set up by the Bay colony, were warmly contested by Connecticut. The dispute being presently brought before the colonial commissioners, they were backward in recognising Winthrop's claim, and

he appears to have abandoned it; while the jurisdiction of the settlement was assigned to Connecticut. After this decision was made, in 1647, the new town took a vigorous start, and by the opening of the next year its population amounted to full forty families. Winthrop was appointed superintendent of the plantation, to which, that they "might leave to posterity the memory of that renowned city from whence they had their transportation," the colonists gave the name of New London. The name of the "fair river Mohegan," upon which the town had been commenced, was changed to the Thames.

Circumstances soon occurred to strengthen the ill feeling which had arisen between Connecticut and Massachusetts during the late dispute. In his recent assignment to the former colony, Fenwick had stipulated that, for ten years, a small impost should be levied for his benefit, on all corn and beaver passing Fort Saybrook. The people of Springfield, in Massachusetts, having refused to pay this impost, Connecticut complained of their conduct to the commissioners of the united colonies. After a full hearing of the matter, they sustained the impost, on the ground that Connecticut had a right to levy it for the maintenance of the fort, from which Springfield, as well as the towns below, derived no small benefit.

By no means pleased with this decision, the

general court of Massachusetts brought the subject again before the commissioners, at their meeting in 1648. Not content with arguing against the impost, they expressed dissatisfaction with the articles of confederation, which allowed them only two commissioners, though their colony was much the largest and most populous. In conclusion, they declared that "if the impost were lawful, it was not expedient;" that it was a "bone of contention, to interrupt their happy union and brotherly love;" and that it "laid them under temptation to help themselves in some other way." A full and able reply was drawn up by Hopkins and Ludlow; who, in the course of their argument, expressed something more than a doubt as to Springfield's being under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. Again the commissioners, on a fair and impartial examination of the question, gave a decision in favour of Connecticut. Having vainly protested against this, the Massachusetts authorities retaliated by levying an impost duty upon all goods belonging to any inhabitants of the other three colonies, which might enter Boston harbour. To this proceeding the remaining confederates could only oppose a remonstrance, earnest, and expressive of deeply-wounded feeling. It was not without effect; for, in the year 1650, Massachusetts suspended the obnoxious ordinance. Animosities had been engendered,

however, which wellnigh proved fatal to the confederacy. Besides, during the quarrel, Massachusetts had run a new boundary line, which Connecticut complained of as bending too far to the southward. Hence arose a new disagreement, that remained unsettled for nearly seventy years.

At their meeting in 1649, the colonial commissioners received a petition from the Pequods under Uncas, which tended to shake seriously their confidence in that chieftain's moral worth, however much his faithfulness as an ally might command their respect and gratitude. By the petitioners, some fifty or sixty in number, he was charged with having plundered and maltreated them, and with appropriating to himself the wife of one of their chief men. These charges being fully sustained, the commissioners ordered Uncas to be reproved and fined, to pay damages to those he had robbed and maltreated, and to restore the woman to her lawful husband. At the same time they made a recommendation, in accordance with which, some few years afterward, the shattered relics of the Pequods were allowed a home and hunting grounds within the limits of Connecticut, and not far from the seats of their ancestors. Here English protection was vouchsafed to them, and a code of laws drawn up for their especial use.

Meanwhile Kieft, the governor of New Nether-

lands, had been superseded by the gallant Peter Stuyvesant. To the latter, soon after his arrival at Manhattan, the New England commissioners despatched a letter of congratulation, ending, however, with some complaints, of which, in his reply, Stuyvesant said nothing.

Scarcely had the commissioners recovered a little from this affront, as they deemed it, when their indignation was again kindled by Stuyvesant ordering the vessel of a Dutch resident at New Haven to be seized, while at anchor in that port, under the pretence, it was then supposed, that New Haven belonged to the States-General. Against this seizure the English protested with much warmth. At length, tired of the war of words, Stuyvesant bent his pride to the often-expressed desire of the united colonies, and visited Hartford in person, to confer with the New England confederates. His first overtures being written, were dated at New Netherlands. Viewing this as an attempt to assume jurisdiction of the place of meeting, the commissioners sturdily refused to treat, until he consented to date from Connecticut. This difficulty settled, negotiations went on smoothly; and, on the 11th of November, 1650, articles of agreement were signed. With regard to the seizure of the vessel in New Haven Harbour, Stuyvesant offered an explanation which was received as satisfactory. Many other injuries were complained of,

but these he declined noticing, as they had been committed by his predecessor. In the settlement of boundaries, all that part of Long Island east of Oyster Bay was assigned to the English. The partition line on the main was to begin at Greenwich Bay, thence running northerly twenty miles, and beyond, as the parties might afterward agree, but not to approach within ten miles of the Hudson. The Dutch were allowed to retain their fort at Hartford, with the lands appurtenant; but all the rest of the territory on the river was relinquished to Connecticut.

Thus the long-pending dispute which had caused so much inkshed, was, to every appearance, brought to an amicable conclusion, greatly to the satisfaction of all concerned.

CHAPTER VI.

First complete code of Connecticut laws—Penalties inflicted upon the irreligious—Regulations for the support of religion—Recommendations for christianizing the Indians—Efforts of Elliott—Free-school system fostered—Penalties of lying—Use of tobacco restricted—Debtors saleable—Negro slavery—Regulation in regard to courtship and marriage—Renewed attempt of New Haven to plant on the Delaware—Emigrants seized by Stuyvesant—England and Holland at war—Massachusetts refuses to join the other colonies against New Netherlands—Indignation of Connecticut and New Haven—They solicit the aid of Cromwell—Death of Haynes—Peace between England and Holland—House of Good Hope seized by Connecticut—Harmony restored to the New England confederacy—John Winthrop governor—Death of Eaton—Newman governor of New Haven—Death of Hopkins—His liberality—Church dissensions—Law against Quakers—Lenient treatment of the Quakers in Connecticut and New Haven—Severity of Massachusetts—Wells governor—Re-election of Winthrop—Change in the rule with regard to the election of governors.

In May, previous to the treaty with Stuyvesant, the first complete code of Connecticut laws was adopted by the general court. It had been compiled by Ludlow, and contained, besides the capital enactments already enumerated, many new features, which, as being illustrative of the times and people, may be noticed briefly.

"Obstinate contemners of God's holy ordinances," on being arraigned the third time, were condemned to stand in public with a paper on

their breasts, stating the nature of their offence. Non-attendance at church was punishable with a fine of five shillings. All persons were required, under certain penalties, to contribute to the support of the Congregational or established churches; but "all sober, orthodox persons, dissenting from them," were, upon application to the general court, "to be allowed peaceably to worship in their own way." No church censure was to "degrade or depose any man from any civil authority." Every family was required to be supplied with "Bibles, orthodox catechisms, and books on practical godliness."

The laws to which the colonists subjected their barbarian neighbours were many and stringent. Yet, while careful to promote religion themselves, they felt, in some degree, the importance of christianizing "those poore, lost, naked sons of Adam." For this purpose, the new code recommended that some one of "the leading elders" should go among them, at least twice a year, "to make known to them the councells of the Lord." But no success appears to have attended their efforts; and when, a few years later, the celebrated missionary Elliott preached to the assembled Podunk Indians, at Hartford, begging them to accept the truth of Christianity, their chiefs would have none of it. "You English have taken away our lands," was their language, "and now you want to make us servants."

Education, cared for from the first, the new code fostered by the establishment of a system of free schools. Every town, consisting of fifty families, was required to maintain a school for reading and writing, and certain of the larger towns a grammar-school, "to fit youths for the university." For their support lands were appropriated by the general court. The selectmen of every town were to take especial care that all the heads of families should instruct their children and servants to read the English tongue well.

Lying, "that foulle and grosse sin," was punishable with fine, stripes at the whipping-post, or confinement in the stocks. Tobacco could not be taken by any person under the age of twenty, while those addicted to its use were forbidden to take it except at a distance of ten miles from any company. Debtors could be sold to discharge their obligations by service, but not to any save "of the English nation." Negro slavery was allowed. Parties intending marriage were required to make their intention public, "at least eight days before they engaged themselves each to the other." Courtship, without the consent of the maid's parents or guardians, or, in their absence, of the nearest magistrate, was forbidden, under the penalty of fine or imprisonment.

The question as to the Delaware being left

undecided by the treaty with Stuyvesant, a company of fifty men, designing to settle where the town of New Castle now stands, embarked at New Haven, early in 1651. Stopping at Manhattan, where they spoke freely of their intentions, the emigrants were summarily seized, and detained until a Dutch fort had been built on the very spot they had chosen for a plantation. Against this "direct violation" of the recent agreement, New Haven protested in strong language. War being presently declared between England and Holland, the Connecticut colonies desired to attack New Netherlands; a proceeding they were chiefly incited to by alarm on account of a plot which the Dutch and Indians were alleged to have formed for their destruction. Though Stuyvesant indignantly denied all knowledge of such a plot, six of the eight New England commissioners, in May, 1653, determined on war.

But, doubtful as to the justice of an offensive war, and insisting that the power to declare it resided only in the unanimous vote of the commissioners, the Massachusetts general court refused to join with the other colonies. This refusal created a hot and angry dispute, during which the integrity of the union was more than once threatened.

Meanwhile, to anticipate an apprehended attack from the Dutch, the western towns of New

Haven, choosing Ludlow for their commander-in-chief, enlisted volunteers for an independent expedition against New Netherlands. This stretch of liberty the general court checked at once, and with considerable severity; whereupon the indignant Ludlow put his goods on ship-board, and presently quitted the colony for ever.

Finding Massachusetts not to be moved, the remaining confederates united in soliciting Cromwell, now Lord-Protector of England, to send out an expedition to join with them against the Dutch at New Netherlands.

Waiting a reply, the Connecticut colonists, early in 1654, experienced a sorrowful calamity in the death of Haynes, their pious, able, and popular governor. In view of this affliction, together with an apprehended dissolution of the confederacy, a general fast was observed early in the spring.

The application to Cromwell was answered in June by the arrival of four ships of war, a small number of land forces, and authority to the united colonies to enlist additional troops. Active preparations were immediately made to raise seven hundred men; Massachusetts so far co-operating as to permit the enlistment of volunteers within her jurisdiction. But before the expedition was ready to sail, tidings came of a peace between England and Holland. The con-

quest of New Netherlands was delayed for a season. In the mean time, however, the Dutch had lost their only foothold in New England, the Connecticut general court having seized and sequestered the house and lands of Good Hope, in conformity with orders received from the British Parliament.

Shortly after the peace, Massachusetts having made certain concessions, harmony was restored to the New England confederacy. Acting again in concert, the colonies presently quieted various Indian troubles, which had of late caused the people of Connecticut no small anxiety.

At the election in May, 1655, Thomas Wells was chosen to succeed Hopkins as governor of Connecticut. The latter was then in England, where he soon after had printed at his own expense, the code of laws recently compiled for the New Haven colonists. For the two years following the election of Wells, who was succeeded, in 1656, by John Webster, the colonies quietly prospered.

In 1657 John Winthrop was elected to the gubernatorial chair of Connecticut. It was during this year that New Haven was called upon to mourn the loss of her first, and thus far, her only governor, Theophilus Eaton. Loved and respected for his many and engaging virtues, all New England regarded his death as a public affliction. In honour of his memory, the people

of New Haven caused a handsome monument to be erected. The public position he had so long and worthily occupied was presently filled by Mr. Francis Newman.

Scarcely had the colonists recovered from the shock of Governor Eaton's demise, when tidings came from England, announcing the death of his son-in-law, Edward Hopkins, but recently chief magistrate of Connecticut. In the last will of this estimable man, who had shared with Haynes the warm affections of the Connecticut people, a striking evidence was afforded of his liberal public spirit. That "hopeful youth" might be encouraged "in a way of learning, for the public service in future times," he bequeathed to the colony a legacy of four hundred pounds, to found a grammar-school. From this endowment sprung the existing grammar-schools at Hartford and New Haven, and at Hadley in Massachusetts.

Arising at Hartford about the year 1654, and gradually involving the churches of Connecticut, and of all New England, a warm controversy with regard to certain points of ecclesiastical polity was now creating most unhappy divisions in families, societies, and religious communities. While these dissensions were at their height, a few disciples of George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, made their appearance at Boston. With much toil and expense, and

harassed by many cares and sorrows, the Puritans had established for themselves a home in the wilderness, hoping to be there undisturbed in the practice of their religion. Against this religion, upon which rested the foundations of the civil government, the new sectaries, more zealous than discreet, inveighed bitterly. Already distracted by internal differences, the New England people became alarmed. Consequently, in 1656, the confederate commissioners offered a recommendation, in accordance with which, Connecticut, together with the remaining colonies, enacted a law making it punishable with fine or imprisonment to introduce Quakers into the colony, and imposing the penalty of stripes and coercive labour upon all members of the obnoxious sect who should come within her jurisdiction. Still more stringent laws were enacted during the two following years. In Connecticut and New Haven, however, but few Quakers made their appearance, and these were treated with a leniency strongly contrasting with the sanguinary policy of Massachusetts, where several of the offending zealots were put to death. Meanwhile the dissensions which had agitated the New England churches were so far composed that, in November, 1659, a day of thanksgiving was proclaimed, in view of their speedy and final settlement.

At the election in the previous May, Winthrop was chosen governor, in place of Wells, who had

filled the executive chair during the year 1658. Winthrop was again elected in 1660, notwithstanding the law incapacitating the same person to be governor for two consecutive years. This law, however, was immediately afterward done away with, as being hurtful rather than advantageous to the interests of the colonists.

CHAPTER VII.

Charles II. King of England—Goffe and Whalley arrive at Boston—Their arrest ordered—They fly to New Haven—Are pursued—New Haven authorities refuse a warrant for their arrest—They are secretly favoured by the colonists—Finally escape to Hadley—Course of Governor Leet censured by Massachusetts—Dislike of the New Haven people for Charles II.—Their reluctance to acknowledge him king—Connecticut applies for a charter—Winthrop is appointed agent in procuring it—His character—His success—Democratic character of the charter—New Haven included in it—People of that colony cling to their independence—Complain against the Connecticut authorities—Winthrop's letter on the subject—His return—His moderation and prudence—War between England and Holland—New Netherlands conquered by the English—Royal commissioners arrive at Boston—Consequent alarm of the colonists—New Haven yields jurisdiction to Connecticut—Day of thanksgiving appointed—Political advantages of the colony—Its toleration—Rapid increase of population—Domestic characteristics of the people—Economy in government—Town meetings—Their character—Their records.

In July, 1660, tidings arrived at Boston of a momentous change in the political condition o.

the parent state. Following upon the death of Cromwell, a sudden revolution had seated Charles II. on the throne of Great Britain. By the same vessel which brought this intelligence came over Whalley and Goffe, two of the judges who had sentenced to death the father of the new king. So soon as it became certain that Charles would be proclaimed, justly apprehensive of his vengeance, they had fled to the Puritan colonies of America.

Received with great courtesy and respect by the governor and other prominent persons of Massachusetts, the fugitive regicides remained in that colony several months, appearing often in public, with no attempt at disguise or concealment. But, in the spring of 1661, a royal order for their arrest reaching Boston, they fled through the wilderness, and at New Haven found a temporary place of refuge, and a sympathizing friend in almost every colonist.

For a time they dwelt there openly at the house of Davenport. But this period of security was brief in its duration. Two young royalists, to whom the execution of the order for their arrest had been intrusted, speedily came to New Haven in pursuit of the fugitives. Governor Leet and his council, however, had "tender consciences," and would give no warrant for their apprehension. Finding it impossible to remove the "scruples" of the colonial authori-

ties, the pursuers began a diligent search in the name of the king. Large rewards were offered to any one who should apprehend the fugitives. Secretly favoured by almost every person in the colony, they for a while escaped discovery, by removing from house to house. This resort failing them, they next found concealment in a mill on the outskirts of New Haven. Hunted from here, they fled to the woods, and then to the seaside, where they hid among the clefts of rocks. Having more than once barely avoided the sharpness of pursuit, they at length found a more secure retreat in a cave on the brow of West Rock, not far from New Haven. Here they remained, frequently for weeks at a time, until their pursuers, wearied out, began to relax the vigour of search.

After this the two regicides spent a considerable time in the village of Milford, from which they finally effected a secret removal to Hadley, in Massachusetts, where a secure retreat had been provided for them. Here, after many years of concealment, Goffe died at an advanced age. The remains of Whalley now repose in the old burying-ground of New Haven. Beside them rest those of Dixwell, a third regicide, who, more fortunate than his fellow fugitives, married in New Haven, and lived there long and happily, with no attempt at concealment other than a change of name.

The course of Governor Leet and his council, with regard to the regicides, caused much alarm in the other colonies. Massachusetts censured it severely, as endangering the liberties of all New England, by provoking the anger of the king. This view the fugitives themselves entertained. More than once, but for the interference of their friends, they would have delivered themselves up, in order that no evil might result to the colonies for harbouring them.

Though the general court of New Haven made haste to exculpate themselves from the censure of Massachusetts, they nevertheless had for the new king a rooted dislike, which they with difficulty abstained from manifesting. Determined in their republicanism, even more so than their brethren of Massachusetts, they hesitated long to proclaim Charles as their sovereign. At length, finding that they alone, among the New England general courts, were thus tacitly rebellious, and therefore dangerously prominent, they reluctantly, and with almost Spartan brevity, acknowledged themselves "to be his majesty's loyal and faithful subjects," on the 21st of August, 1661.

This acknowledgment the general court of Connecticut had made much earlier; probably to gain favour with Charles, to whom they had already determined to apply for a charter. At length, having taken the precaution to draft the

desired instrument among themselves, they selected Governor Winthrop to solicit the king's assent to it.

Embarking for England about midsummer, Winthrop bore with him a letter to Lord Say, the early friend of Connecticut, and now a favoured crown officer, whose influence and advice the colonists requested, in the language of sincere respect and earnest affection. The warm-hearted old man readily complied. Unfitted, himself, by age for active exertion, he easily induced "the obliging and generous" Earl of Manchester to join with him and Winthrop, "that their godly friends in New England might enjoy their just rights and liberties."

In addition to these and other active friends, the Connecticut envoy had in himself excellent sureties for the success of his mission. Learned as well in the ways of men and of the world as in books, with an unspotted character, of gentle manners and most engaging address, Winthrop found "favour in the eyes of all with whom he had to do," and nothing that his quietly-enterprising spirit ever undertook had been known to fail. With the king his success was signal. Having first shown to the monarch a singular ring—the gift of the first Charles to Winthrop's grandfather—he then presented the petition of Connecticut. Touched by the sight of a relic which recalled the memory of a father he had

dearly loved, the heart of Charles was won. With scarcely any hesitation, a charter, surprisingly liberal and democratic, was granted to the "Governor and Company of Connecticut in New England," on the 20th of April, 1662.

The boundaries of the colony, according to this instrument, varied little from those laid down in the original patent to Warwick. New Haven consequently became absorbed into Connecticut; but not, as will presently be seen, without an effort to retain independence. At the same time the basis was laid of a claim to those western lands, from the sale of which has since accrued the present school fund of the state.

By her charter, Connecticut was virtually independent. The freemen of the colony, all inhabitants of "civil, peaceable, and honest conversation," possessing twenty-pound estates, besides personal property, were allowed to choose annually from among themselves a governor, magistrates, and representatives, with full executive, legislative, and judicial authority. Upon their acts the king reserved no negative; and all judicial decisions were final in the colony. Every privilege "of free and natural subjects within the realm" was granted to the colonists.

Grateful to Winthrop for his services, Connecticut, soon after the charter was received, again elected him governor, though he was yet

in England. To that office he continued to be annually chosen until his death.

Loath to have obliterated the distinct commonwealth they had created with so much trouble and expense, and preferring their own spiritual qualification of church-membership to the freehold one established by the late charter, a large majority of the people of New Haven sturdily refused to come under the jurisdiction of Connecticut. It was their best way, they said, "to stand as God had kept them to that time." But some of the inhabitants of Guilford, Greenwich, and Stamford presently signifying their desire to enjoy the protection and privileges of Connecticut, these towns were taken into her jurisdiction. "Exceedingly grieved and afflicted" by this proceeding, the New Haven general court, testifying against it, "in the sight of God, angels, and men," appealed to the king.

Winthrop, who was still in England, at once wrote the Connecticut court a letter, the substance of which is given:—

"Gentlemen,—I am informed that since you had the late patent, injury hath been done to the government at New Haven. I do hope the rise of it is from misunderstanding and not from prejudice to that colony, for whom I gave assurance that their rights and interests should not be disquieted by the patent: but if both governments would, with unanimous agreement,

unite in one, it was judged for their advantage. Now, in future, to prevent a tedious, chargeable trial here, and uncertain event, there will be no imposing upon New Haven; but all things will be acted as between loving and neighbouring colonies. Unto this I judge you are obliged, I having engaged to their agent here that it will be by you performed. Upon consideration, there may be such a right understanding between both governments, that a friendly union may be established, to the satisfaction of all; which, at my arrival, I shall also endeavour (God willing) to promote."

This letter, however, wrought no change in the conduct of Connecticut toward the people of New Haven; whose "proceeding as a distinct jurisdiction," the general court declared "they could not but resent." The dispute now became angry. While it was at its height, Connecticut found herself hotly assailed by Massachusetts and New Netherlands, for having, under the warrant of her charter, exercised jurisdiction over certain towns claimed by those colonies.

At this juncture Winthrop returned, having assisted, before leaving England, at the formation of the Royal Society. He at once endeavoured to conciliate the people of New Haven. The task was one of difficulty. They refused to treat, until Connecticut should revoke the

authority already claimed over some of their towns.

While Winthrop, by the exercise of moderation and prudence, was slowly winning over New Haven to a union, events happened which materially lightened his labour, and hastened the desired result.

On the 12th of March, 1664, Charles I., with a singular disregard of the chartered liberties of Connecticut, granted to his brother, the Duke of York, the whole territory lying between the Connecticut and Delaware Rivers. New Netherlands being comprised in this patent, it became necessary to subdue the occupants of that province. For this purpose, in July, a fleet arrived at Boston; whence it presently proceeded to Manhattan, receiving Winthrop on board during the voyage. Stuyvesant, the brave old governor there, vainly attempted to resist the unexpected invasion. But the terms of the English were easy, the Dutch inhabitants were careless of the result, and Stuyvesant, through the mediation of Winthrop, was at length induced to capitulate. By this bloodless victory, New Netherlands was united to the dominions of Great Britain, and the New England people relieved of a great source of anxiety.

But with the fleet by which this conquest was effected came commissioners from the king, to investigate certain charges against the New

England colonies, and to settle the disputes lately arisen among them. Having reason to apprehend that their charter would be taken from them, the Massachusetts people were filled with alarm. All New England shared in their forebodings of evil, which the arbitrary conduct of the commissioners during their brief stay at Boston, previous to the invasion of New Netherlands, was in no way calculated to dispel. Nevertheless, in Connecticut, the commissioners were received with a show, at least, of great respect; which contrasted, quite favourably to the colony, with the chilly welcome they had met at Boston. Nor was Winthrop's urbanity without its usual success. Notwithstanding the king's recent patent to his brother, the boundary between Connecticut and New Netherlands was left undisturbed. Long Island, however, went to the Duke of York. But, again favouring Connecticut, the commissioners gave no countenance to a claim, then lately advanced by the Duke of Hamilton, to a large tract of territory in the colony.

Meanwhile the New Haven people had been urged to hasten a union with Connecticut, as a proceeding necessary, not only for their own liberty, but for that of all New England. Moved by this representation, and by the untiring solicitation of Winthrop, reluctantly, and with many misgivings, they at last yielded up "the

house which wisdom had built for them and their posterity." In the spring of 1665, the united colonies elected Winthrop governor, and Mason deputy-governor. Connecticut, as thus consolidated, contained nineteen towns, distributed among the three counties of New Haven, Hartford, and New London.

In November following the final act of union, a day was set apart for returning thanks "to the Supreme Benefactor, for preventing the troubles they had feared, and for the blessings of liberty, health, peace, and plenty."

"And the gratitude of Connecticut"—we abbreviate from Bancroft—"was reasonable. The charter Winthrop had obtained secured to her an existence of tranquillity. Civil freedom was safe. The minds of the yeomanry were kept active by the constant exercise of the elective franchise. There was no such thing in the colony as an officer appointed by the English king. The government was in honest and upright hands. The magistrates were sometimes persons of no ordinary endowments; but though gifts of learning and genius were valued, the state was content with virtue and single mindedness."

As we have seen, "there never existed a persecuting spirit in Connecticut. Roger Williams had ever been a welcome guest at Hartford; and 'that heavenly man, John Haynes,' would say

to him, 'I think, Mr. Williams, I must now confesse to you that the most wise God hath provided this part of the world as a refuge for all sorts of consciences.'

"Education was cherished, religious knowledge was carried to the highest degree of refinement. A hardy race multiplied along the alluvions of streams, and subdued the more rocky and less inviting fields. If, as has been often said, the ratio of the increase of population is the surest criterion of public happiness, Connecticut was long the happiest state in the world.

"There was nothing morose in the Connecticut character. It was temperate industry enjoying the abundance which it had created. No great inequalities of condition excited envy, or raised political feuds. Wealth could display itself only in a larger house and a fuller barn; and covetousness was satisfied by the tranquil succession of harvests. For a foreign market little was produced besides cattle; and in return for them but few foreign luxuries stole in.

"There was for a long time hardly a lawyer in the land. The husbandman who held his own plough, and fed his own cattle, was the great man of the age. No one was superior to the matron, who, with her busy daughters, kept the hum of the wheel incessantly alive, spinning and weaving every article of their dress. Fashion was confined within narrow limits. Pride, which

aimed at no grander equipage than a pillion, could exult only in the common splendour of the blue and white linen gown, with short sleeves, coming down to the waist, and in the snow-white flaxen apron, which, primly starched and ironed, was worn on public days by every woman in the land.

"The frugality of private life had its influence on public expenditure. Half a century after the concession of the charter, the annual expenses of the government did not exceed four thousand dollars; and the wages of the chief justice were ten shillings a day while on service.

"In the ancient republics, citizenships had been an hereditary privilege. In Connecticut citizenship was acquired by inhabitancy, was lost by removal. Each town meeting was a little legislature; and all inhabitants, the affluent and the more needy, the wise and the foolish, were members with franchises. There the taxes of the town were discussed and levied; there the village officers were chosen; there the minister was elected, the representatives to the assembly were instructed. The debate was open to all. Whoever reads the records of the village democracies, will be perpetually coming upon some little document of political wisdom, which breathes the freshness of rural legislation, and wins a disproportioned interest, from the justice and simplicity of the times. As the progress

of society required exertions in a wider field, the public mind was quickened by associations that were blended with early history; and when Connecticut emerged from the quiet of its origin, and made its way into scenes where a new political world was to be erected, the sagacity that had regulated the affairs of the village gained admiration in the field and in council."

CHAPTER VIII.

Prosperity of Connecticut—Apprehension of trouble—The Duke of York claims jurisdiction to the Connecticut—Edmund Andross governor of the duke's province—Embarks to seize Fort Saybrook—Connecticut militia sent to oppose him—He attempts to assume authority—Is overawed by the determined conduct of Captain Bull—Returns to New York—King Philip's war—Its origin—Massacre at Swanzey—Philip a fugitive—Frontier towns of Massachusetts destroyed—Fearful character of the war—Exemption of Connecticut from its immediate horrors—Preparations for defence—Expedition against the Narragansets—Their fort attacked—Their obstinate resistance—Colonists finally victorious—Narraganset fort burned—Connecticut captains killed in the fight—Sufferings of the fugitive Indians—Their despair and fury—Connecticut volunteer companies—Canonchet captured by Captain Denison's men—His execution—Pursuit of Philip—He is shot by one of his own tribe—Death of Winthrop—William Leet governor—State of the colony in 1680—Rogerenes.

For a period of nearly nine years from 1665, Connecticut enjoyed an undisturbed existence. During these years of quiet prosperity, nothing

of marked historical importance occurred within her borders. Many new towns sprung up, meanwhile, under the shelter of her free institutions; and her population continued to increase steadily and rapidly; though even at this early day that tide of emigration was setting outward, the constant flow of which has carried to almost every town and village of the Union, at least one representative of the Connecticut people.

Early in 1674, however, these "halcyon days of peace" began to be overclouded. Singularly forgetful of the decision of his own commissioners, King Charles, renewing the patent of New York to his brother James, a second time extended the eastern boundary of that province to the Connecticut. To vindicate his jurisdiction over the territory thus unjustly granted to him, the Duke of York found a subservient tool in Edmund Andross, whom he presently commissioned as governor of his American possessions.

Andross did not long delay making the attempt. Early in July, 1675, having organized a military and naval expedition, he embarked at New York for Fort Saybrook, of which he designed to take possession. Of this movement the Connecticut assembly received timely information. Hastily convening, they hurried off to the fort a detachment of militia, under the command of Captain Bull, a man of tried courage and resolute spirit. They then voted unanimously a proclamation,

declaring their resolution to maintain their chartered rights at all hazard, and commanding the "good people of Connecticut to utterly refuse to countenance or obey" Andross, or any of his subordinates. This proclamation an express bore to Captain Bull.

Before that gallant officer could reach Saybrook, Andross appeared in the river. Though at first doubtful as to what they had best do, the fishermen and farmers of the neighbourhood speedily determined to defend the fort. Presently joined by Bull, they made every preparation to give Andross a warlike reception. On the 11th of July, the latter anchored his fleet off the fort, and, hoisting the king's colours, summoned the garrison to surrender. At this juncture Bull received the assembly's proclamation.

He immediately responded to the summons of Andross by running up the English flag. Despairing of success in an assault, and hesitating to fire upon the national standard, Andross was reduced to the necessity of trying persuasion. At his own request, he was permitted to land with a small retinue. Rejecting Bull's proposal to have the dispute referred to commissioners, he assumed authority, and in the king's name ordered the duke's patent to be read in the hearing of the colonial militia. But no sooner had his secretary commenced reading, than the Connecticut captain, in the name of the king, com-

manded him to stop. For a moment the clerk persisted. With startling energy of voice and manner, Bull reiterated his command. The reader did not deem it safe to refuse obedience. Overawed, but complaining bitterly of the assembly's ingratitude, Andross, escorted by the militia, withdrew to his boat, and set sail for New York.

Incensed at this attempted aggression, the Connecticut assembly drew up a declaration of the wrongs Andross had done them, and, having sealed it with the colony's seal, despatched copies of it to the neighbouring plantations, to be there made public.

Meanwhile, an Indian war had broken out in the eastern colonies, and now threatened to involve all New England in its sanguinary horrors.

The most powerful and warlike of the aboriginal tribes, at this time within the borders of New England, were the Wampanoags and Narragansets; the former inhabiting what is now the county of Bristol, in Rhode Island, and the latter, the western shore of the beautiful bay which yet preserves their name. Crowded into these narrow limits by the encroaching tide of civilization, no less than seventeen hundred warriors had grown restless and irritable, under the restraints to which the English subjected them. Canonchet, chief of the Narragansets, also re-

membered the wrongs inflicted upon Miantonimo, his unfortunate father.

Upon Pometacom, or Philip of Mount Hope, chief of the Wampanoags, suspicion of hostile designs had rested for several years; though hitherto his tribe had been the unwavering friends of the colonists. In consequence of this suspicion, he had been compelled to surrender his English arms, and to pay a burdensome tribute. Presently accused again—this time by an Indian convert, whom he had formerly employed—of planning the extermination of the whites, Philip was summoned to answer to the charge. Having promptly obeyed this summons, the haughty chieftain was hesitatingly allowed to return to his tribe, no satisfactory proof being offered to sustain the charge against him. Soon afterward, however, his Indian accuser was found murdered. Suspicion falling immediately upon three of Philip's men, they were arrested by the authorities of Plymouth, tried by a jury of Indians and whites, convicted, and hanged. Their exasperated brethren retaliated by assaulting the town of Swanzey, and killing nine of the inhabitants. Philip is said to have shed tears when he received tidings of this onslaught; but the blow his tribe had struck in a moment of passion, the proud spirit of the chieftain would not permit him to recall.

Startled, but not dismayed, by this confirma-

tion of their worst fears, the colonists of Plymouth and Massachusetts at once took up arms. In less than a month Philip was a fugitive from the home of his ancestors. Finding refuge among the inland tribes, he speedily induced them to take up the hatchet, and join him in a desperate attempt to exterminate the whites.

For a short period during the fierce contest that ensued, the savages seemed to be omnipresent. Scarcely one of the frontier towns of Massachusetts and Plymouth escaped the fury of their first onset. Brookfield and Deerfield were burned; Northfield, Hadley, and Springfield, attacked and partially destroyed. Three bands of the colonists, numbering in all one hundred and thirty chosen men, successively fell victims to the cunning and vigilance of outlying Indians. Everywhere were conflagrations, massacres, and frightened women and children flying from death. The labour of years was swept away in a few weeks. Civilization seemed about to be driven back into the Atlantic.

Her Indian inhabitants proving faithful, Connecticut was exempted from the immediate horrors of the war, though her people suffered intensely from alarm and apprehension. Many of them took the field, however; and, led by the gallant Major Treat, afforded most effective assistance to the western settlements of Massachusetts. It appearing probable that a simulta-

neous attack would be presently made on all the frontier towns, the assembly, in October, 1675, ordered the enlistment of four companies of dragoons, each numbering sixty men, for the immediate defence of the colony, and to act against the enemy wherever their services might be needed. Every town was required to be strongly fortified, and to have a place of security where the women and children might take refuge on the first intimation of danger. All inhabitants unable to bear arms, were advised to remove into the more populous parts of the colony.

As yet, the powerful confederacy of the Narragansets had not entered openly into the contest; early in the commencement of which they were constrained to deliver up hostages for the maintenance of peace. But as the winter approached, the opinion became general that they had broken their pledges, by secretly sheltering and aiding the hostile tribes. It was determined to treat them as enemies. A thousand men were immediately enlisted by the united colonies, and sent into the Narraganset country. Of this force, three hundred were from Connecticut, under the command of Major Treat.

Spending the previous night in the open air, these troops, led by Josiah Winslow, about daybreak of Sunday, December the 19th, began their march to attack the chief stronghold of the enemy, situated in an extensive swamp, near the

present town of South Kingston, in Rhode Island. The ground being covered with a deep snow, their march of fifteen miles was slow, laborious, and painful. Swiftly following a scouting party of Indians, who fled before them as they entered the swamp, the van of the Massachusetts men came in sight of the fort, built upon a rising ground in the centre of the swamp, and encircled by a dense and almost impenetrable hedge. Apparently the only practicable entrance into this stronghold was a narrow way, over a large log raised some five feet from the ground, and exposed to a cross fire from a blockhouse in front, and a breastwork along one side. Pausing scarcely a moment to breathe, the assailants faced the deadly fire that here met them, and gained the interior of the fort. Being unsupported, after a sanguinary struggle, in which two captains fell, they were driven back. At this juncture the Connecticut troops came up. The assault was renewed with hopeful vigour, and the fort again entered. Long and obstinately resisting, the savages yielded only when, gaining the rear, a fresh body of colonists attacked them with fatal effect. Then all was lost. As they broke and fled, burning brands were thrown among their wigwams. In a few moments, six hundred of these were in flames. Terrible and sickening were the sights and sounds that followed. High above the roar of the con-

flagration, and the shouts of the victors, and the yells of the flying savages, were heard the shrill shrieks of more than a hundred old men, women, and children, perishing horribly by fire. Even the authors of this fearful destruction were appalled at it; and many began to doubt whether "it could be consistent with humanity, and the benevolent principles of the gospel."

Though complete, the victory was dearly purchased. For three hundred Indians slain, and less than six hundred prisoners, mostly women and children, the lives of eighty of the most valuable colonists had been expended. Half this number was mourned by Connecticut; and of her five captains, three—Seely, Marshal, and Gallup—fell dead while leading on their troops; a fourth—John Mason—received wounds which finally terminated his life.

Driven into the woods and swamps, with nothing to protect them from the rigorous season, almost without food, and pursued by the colonists with the pertinacity of hate, the fugitive barbarians perished by hundreds from exposure, famine, and sheer exhaustion. The survivors grew desperate. Town after town was laid waste by their fury. Yet they had no hope of ultimate success. The stubborn and untiring energy of the New England men pursued them everywhere; some were taken captive and enslaved or executed; others fled to the northern

lakes; many were slain in fight; a few submitted to the conquerors.

Among the numerous armed volunteers who, led by captains of activity and courage, contributed to relieve the colonies of their infuriated foes, none were more serviceable than those of Connecticut. Early in April, 1676, one of these companies, headed by Captain Denison of Stonington, while hunting out the scattered fugitives, came suddenly upon a large and powerful Indian. Flying, he was pursued. Crossing a brook, he slipped on a stone and fell. At this moment a Pequod runner laid hands on him. His great strength might have availed him, but he made no resistance. The prisoner was Canonchet, chief sachem of the Narragansets. A young colonist presently approaching, began to question him:—"You are a child," he said; "you do not understand war: let your captain come; him I will answer." His life was offered him, if he would procure a treaty of peace; but he rejected the proposal scornfully. When told that he was condemned to death—"I like it well," said the heroic captive; "I shall die before my heart is soft, before I have spoken any thing unworthy of myself." Borne in triumph to Stonington, he was there shot by two Indians. His head was then cut off and carried to Hartford.

A similarly bloody fate awaited Philip, the

unfortunate author of the war. So soon as success seemed to be entirely with the English, the savages quarrelled among themselves, and the warriors of Philip began to desert him. Still he persisted in the now hopeless struggle, striking dead the chief who proposed that he should submit. At length, having vainly sought the alliance of the Mohawks, he returned with a few faithful followers to the hunting-grounds of his fathers. Here his wife and son were presently captured by the English. "My heart breaks," was his despairing exclamation; "now I am ready to die." But a few days afterward he was shot by the brother of the chief he had slain for proposing peace.

Thus ended King Philip's war, the most disastrous that New England ever experienced. In little more than a year, thirteen villages had been destroyed, six hundred houses laid in ashes, and more than that number of the colonists, mostly young men, had fallen beneath the fury of the savages. Destructive as the contest had been to the victors, it was trebly so to the conquered. The two powerful tribes engaged in it were virtually exterminated.

While the war was yet raging, in April, 1676, Connecticut met with a serious loss, in the death of her learned and excellent governor and benefactor, John Winthrop, full of years and honours, and leaving a name that should not be forgotten.

The pure and upright William Leet, formerly governor of New Haven, was presently chosen to succeed Winthrop, and continued to fill the gubernatorial chair until his death, in 1683.

From a report forwarded in 1680, to the English Committee of Trade, some interesting particulars are gathered in regard to the condition of Connecticut at that period. The population is not stated; but judging from the number of enrolled militia—twenty-five hundred—it could not have been less than eleven thousand, distributed among four counties and twenty-six towns. Of this population, about thirty were negro slaves.

The entire commercial marine, owned in the colony, consisted of four ships and twenty-three smaller vessels, with a tonnage of about five thousand tons. Boston and the West Indies were the chief places with which trade was carried on. The most important exports were lumber, provisions, and horses, valued at nine thousand pounds sterling a year. No impost duties were levied, except on wine and liquors, the revenues from which were appropriated to the support of free schools. Labour being dear and provisions cheap, there was no such thing as a beggar or vagabond in the colony; or, if any such did make their appearance, they were immediately bound out to service.

"Strict" and "large" Congregationalism was

the religion of most of the people. A few Friends were unmolested in the observance of their particular tenets. There were, also, in the colony, some twenty members of a new and curious sect of the Baptists, called Rogerenes, after their founder, Jonathan Rogers of New London, but better known as the Seventh-Day Baptists, from their distinguishing tenet, that of observing the Jewish Sabbath, Saturday, instead of the customary Christian one. Persisting in performing labour on Sundays, they would then inform upon themselves—a proceeding which usually resulted in their imprisonment for a brief period. Finding no warrant in the Bible for family prayers or grace at meal times, they denounced both as vain ceremonials; while in their estimation, to take physic, was to thwart the providence of God.

CHAPTER IX.

Robert Treat governor—Territorial dispute with Rhode Island —Conduct of that colony—Dispute finally terminates unfavourably to Connecticut—James II. King of England—His scheme to consolidate the New England colonies—Quo warrantos served upon Connecticut—Prudent course of the assembly—Andross appointed governor of New England—Meets the Connecticut assembly—Demands the charter—It is secretly borne away—Andross assumes authority—Ends the records of the assembly—Revolution in England—Andross's authority overthrown—Connecticut charter reproduced—Assembly addresses King William—English lawyers declare the charter of Connecticut unimpaired—War between France and England—French and Indian war parties attack the frontiers of New York and Massachusetts—Expeditions against Canada—Their ill success—Designs of the English crown upon the liberties of Connecticut—Fletcher commissioned to command its militia—Opposition of the assembly —Winthrop bears a petition to the king—Rage of Fletcher —He attempts to assume command of the troops—Is thwarted by the courage of Captain Wadsworth—Course of Connecticut sustained by the crown lawyers—Rejoicings in consequence—Winthrop returns—His reception—Peace.

AFTER the death of Governor Leet, in 1683, the gubernatorial chair of Connecticut was for many years filled by Major Robert Treat, whose services during the recent Indian war had gained him a deserved popularity. The year in which he was first elected proved one of calamities to the planters of the colony. A deadly sickness

prevailed, sweeping off great numbers, especially of the clergy. Freshets in many of the streams destroyed much valuable property and some lives; while the harvests were so scanty as to cause considerable anxiety and a little distress.

Late in October, the new governor and his council had a conference with Dongan of New York, during which the boundary line between the two colonies was amicably adjusted, nearly in accordance with the one now existing. A territorial dispute with Rhode Island terminated neither so soon nor so satisfactorily. This same year the rival claims of Connecticut and of that colony to lands in the Narraganset country were referred for settlement to certain royal commissioners. Rhode Island objected to these, however; and when they attempted to hold a conference in the disputed territory, they were warned off by the heralds of that colony. Thereupon adjourning to Boston, the commissioners decided in favour of the claims of Connecticut. But Rhode Island questioned the justice of this decision; and for nearly fifty years longer the dispute gave rise to much vexatious and expensive litigation, and finally terminated unfavourably to Connecticut.

Charles II. dying in 1685, his brother, the Duke of York, ascended the English throne, as James II. Avaricious and fond of power, the new king hastened to execute a scheme he

seems to have long before concocted—the consolidation, and complete subjection to royal authority, of all the New England colonies. Massachusetts having been already deprived of her charter, and Plymouth never possessing one, it only remained to wrest away those of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Charged with certain misdemeanours, the former colony was presently served with three successive writs of quo warranto. Alarm and hesitation for a while pervaded the councils of the commonwealth, but it was determined not to surrender the charter. Knowing that the cause was already prejudged against them, the assembly did not deem it worth while to employ counsel. Endeavouring more to elude than to repel the blow aimed at them, they threw themselves upon the king's clemency, and desired that, if their independence was to be taken away, they might be united to Massachusetts rather than to New York. This move eventually saved the charter; inasmuch as James, hastily and erroneously construing it into a surrender of the coveted instrument, at once stayed proceedings on the quo warranto, and they were never afterward urged to a judicial decision.

Acting upon the king's construction of the desire Connecticut had expressed, Andross, lately appointed governor of New England, in the autumn of 1687, attended by seventy soldiers, set out from Boston, and travelled across the

country to Hartford, to assume authority over the colony. Meeting the assembly which was then in session, he demanded the charter. After some parley, it was produced and laid on the clerk's table. A long and earnest debate ensued. The brave old Governor Treat plead feelingly for the liberties of his people, showing with what an outlay of labour, and treasure, and blood, they had been purchased; and how like parting with life it was to surrender the cherished instrument of their security. Evening came on while the debate was purposely protracted, and an excited throng of resolute farmers and townsmen gathered around the house where the council was assembled. It grew dark, and lights were brought, the charter still lying upon the table. The front windows of the council-chamber were low, and the heat of the weather rendered it necessary to keep them open. Of a sudden, some of the throng outside threw their jackets into the open windows, and thus extinguished the lights. These were speedily rekindled; but the charter had disappeared. In the darkness, Captain Wadsworth, of Hartford, stealing noiselessly from the room, bore the precious document to the concealment of a hollow oak, fronting the house, where it was deposited, not to be brought to light again until happier times. Spared from the axe, on account of its great size, when the forest was first cleared, the "charter oak" still

stands as the memento of an anxious period in the history of Connecticut.

Thwarted in all his efforts to recover the abstracted charter, Andross nevertheless assumed the chief authority; and appointing Treat and Fitz-John Winthrop members of his council, with his own hand closed the records of the colonial assembly in these words:—

"At a general court at Hartford, October 31st, 1687, his excellency Sir Edmund Andross, captain-general and governor of his majesty's dominions in New England, by order from his majesty, took into his hands the government of the colony of Connecticut, it being annexed to Massachusetts, and other colonies under his excellency's government.

FINIS."

But the existence of Connecticut as an independent commonwealth was not to be thus terminated. Yet, for nearly two years, the colonists mourned for their chartered liberties as if they were forever lost. Much, too, they suffered, meanwhile, from the arbitrary measures of the new governor; but still far less than the people of Massachusetts, who were under his immediate supervision. A great deal of the leniency thus shown toward Connecticut, was undoubtedly due to the influence and affectionate interference of Treat and Winthrop, who, as members of An-

dross' council, had the principal management of the colony's affairs.

Yet, though borne with a kind of desponding acquiescence, the administration of Andross was irksome and odious, and ultimately might have aroused a violent outbreak of colonial indignation. But events presently transpired in England, which brought it to a conclusion as abrupt as it had been unexpected. In April, 1689, immediately on receiving rumours that a bloodless revolution had driven James II. from his throne, the people of Boston assembled in arms, and declared in favour of the new sovereign, William, Prince of Orange. The obnoxious Andross, deriving his authority from the deposed James, was seized and confined. A few weeks afterward, the rumours which had induced this action were fully confirmed.

Meanwhile, the charter of Connecticut had been brought from its hiding-place, and Treat again chosen governor. The assembly, convening on the 13th of June, proclaimed the new sovereign "with great joy and ceremony." "Great was that day"—thus ran their address to the king—"Great was that day when the Lord, who sitteth upon the floods, did divide his and your adversaries like the waters of Jordan, and did begin to magnify you like Joshua, by those great actions that were so much for the honour of God, and the deliverance of the English dominions

from popery and slavery." Declaring they had been "surprised by Andross into an involuntary submission to an arbitrary power," they announced that they had "presumed, by the consent of a major part of the freemen, to resume the government," according to the rules of their charter. For this they entreated "his majesty's most gracious pardon;" and besides, expressed a hope that their former liberties would be confirmed.

This address the king received favourably. With regard to the validity of the Connecticut charter, the opinions of several English lawyers were asked. Replies came, "that the charter, not being surrendered under the common seal, nor that surrender duly recorded," had never been invalidated in any of its powers, and was still good in law. This being the case, William had no opportunity to renew it; a circumstance for which the Connecticut people could not have been otherwise than thankful, when they saw the charter of Massachusetts restored with many of its important democratic features obliterated or modified.

Meantime war had been declared between England and France. Prevented from invading New York by the necessity of protecting his own territories from an irruption of the Iroquois, Frontenac, the governor of Canada, incited his Indian allies to undertake several smaller expe-

ditions against the frontier settlements of the English.

Early in February, 1690, a party of French and Indians from Montreal, after wading for two and twenty days through the snow, at midnight fell suddenly upon the village of Schenectady. Many houses were burned: sixty of the English, men, women, and children, suffered death, attended by the most horrible barbarities; and among the victims were five members of a Connecticut troop, then stationed in the town. But a few weeks afterward, a second company of French and Indians surprised an English settlement on the Piscataqua, burned the houses, massacred most of the male inhabitants, and hurried off fifty-four prisoners, chiefly women and children.

These and similar forays excited the alarm and indignation of the English colonies. Massachusetts proposed a congress of colonial commissioners, to meet at New York, and devise a scheme of retaliation. Accordingly, delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and New York, assembled at the proposed place of meeting, on the first of May, and determined to attempt the conquest of Canada, with a fleet and army, to sail from Boston against Quebec, and a land force of nine hundred men from Connecticut and New York, to march by the way of Lake Champlain upon Montreal.

But both expeditions proved unsuccessful. That against Montreal, with Fitz-John Winthrop of Connecticut at its head, advanced beyond Lake George; but Milborne, the son-in-law of the governor of New York, who had been appointed commissary, failing to keep the army sufficiently supplied with provisions, a council of war declared it necessary to fall back upon Albany. For the retreat that followed, sickness and the want of canoes to transport the troops, afforded additional excuses. Being early informed of it by his Indian scouts, the aged but active Frontenac was enabled to concentrate all his forces in Quebec, and thus to repel the combined military and naval expedition from Massachusetts.

Though Winthrop, in retreating, had but acted upon the advice of his officers, Leisler, the governor of New York, charged him with treachery, and caused him to be arrested. This assumption of authority the Connecticut assembly rebuked in sharp terms. But long before their remonstrance could reach Leisler, the universal indignation of the army had compelled him to release his prisoner.

During the year following the unsuccessful attempt upon Canada, the colonies did little more than defend themselves from the war-parties of French and Indians, who continued to harass the frontiers. Though herself exempted from

the attacks of these marauding bands, Connecticut kept a considerable force in the field, chiefly to assist in protecting the western and north-eastern settlements of Massachusetts.

It had been with great reluctance that the English crown acknowledged the validity of the charter of Connecticut. William was still hopeful and desirous of abridging, at least, the ample privileges and democratic liberties it guarantied. Appointing a new governor over New York, in the person of Colonel Benjamin Fletcher, a man of irascible temper, possessing much activity but little capacity to execute prudently, the king entrusted to him the accomplishment of an insidious design upon the liberties of Connecticut. Ostensibly to render easier the defence of New York, Fletcher was commissioned to command the militia of the New England colony. Perceiving at once, that to allow him to act under this commission would be virtually to surrender their chartered privileges, the legislature of Connecticut took a firm stand in opposition. The question being referred to the freemen, it was resolved to appeal to the king against the authority delegated to the governor of New York. A petition was accordingly prepared, and placed in the hands of the faithful Winthrop, to be presented by him to the throne.

Fletcher was furious at the resistance offered him, and would not await the decision of the go-

vernment in England. On the 26th of October, 1693, he appeared suddenly in Hartford. "I will not set my foot out of this colony," declared he, "till I have seen his majesty's commission obeyed." The assembly were at this time in session. Fletcher ordering the militia under arms, it was thought expedient to call the train-bands of Hartford together. Notwithstanding this apparent concession, the assembly declared that they would not surrender the command of the troops to any one save the officers in whom that right was expressly vested by the charter.

Finding the civil rulers inflexible in their determination, Fletcher proceeded with Bayard, one of his council, to the parade-ground, where he found the militia "training" under the directions of Captain Wadsworth, whose faithfulness to the liberties of the colony had already been exhibited. Preparing to take command, Fletcher ordered Bayard to read his commission. "Beat the drums!" exclaimed Wadsworth, as the councillor commenced reading. Loud was the uproar that ensued. Fletcher furiously commanded silence. He was obeyed; and Bayard once more began to read. Again the drums were beat. "Silence! silence!" cried the irritated Fletcher. "Drum, drum, I say!" shouted Wadsworth, in a determined voice, adding, with startling emphasis, as he turned toward the intrusive governor, "If I am interrupted again, I will make

the sun shine through you in a moment." Marking the stern aspect of the speaker, and the excited countenances of the throng that was fast gathering around, Fletcher, awed into silence, prudently consulted his safety by a hasty return to New York.

Meanwhile Winthrop was on his way to England. Safely arriving there, he presented the colony's petition to the king, who referred the whole matter to the solicitor and attorney-general for the crown. Their report sustaining Connecticut, an order in accordance with it was passed in council. But, thus treating the question as a mere local quarrel between two colonial governments, no satisfaction was tendered to Connecticut for what was, undoubtedly, a royal attempt to encroach upon the rights and privileges of her charter. Still there was cause for the rejoicings with which the tidings of the decision were received.

Returning from his successful mission in 1696, Winthrop was greeted by the hearty welcomes of the colony. Thanking him publicly for his good services, the assembly voted him a more substantial gratuity of three hundred pounds, as a "further testimonial of the high sense they entertained of his merit, fidelity, and labours."

In 1697, the war with Canada, which during all this time had been languishingly waged, was terminated by the peace of Ryswick.

CHAPTER X.

Fitz-John Winthrop governor—Yale College founded—Is removed to New Haven—Hartford and New Haven established as the colonial capitals—Charges against the colonies—Bill to abrogate their charters—Defence of Connecticut—Withdrawal of the obnoxious bill—War between England, France and Spain—Attempt of Cornbury and Dudley to abridge the liberties of Connecticut—Charges brought against the colony—Its vindication and triumph—Dudley renews his attacks upon the colony—Promotes the claims of the heirs of Major Mason—Long-continuance of the Mason controversy—Is finally decided in favour of the colony—Death of Winthrop—Saltonstall governor—Progress of the war—Invasion of Canada projected—Design abandoned—Successful expedition against Acadia—Renewed attempt to conquer Canada—Its failure—Disappointment of the colonies—Peace—Condition of Connecticut—Boundary dispute with Massachusetts settled.

Electing Winthrop governor in 1698, Connecticut enjoyed nearly three years of uninterrupted tranquillity. It was during this period of peace that the foundation was laid of an educational structure, which the commonwealth of to-day may justly regard with pride and satisfaction. Finding it inconvenient to send their youth to Cambridge University for a collegiate education, several gentlemen of New Haven, Milford, and Branford, suggested the establishment of a college in Connecticut. In 1699, ten

clergymen were appointed trustees of the projected institution. Meeting at Branford during the following year, each of these trustees brought with him several books, saying, as he laid them upon the table, "I give these books for the founding of a college in this colony." The library thus contributed numbered about forty folio volumes. Various other donations were soon afterward made, both of money and of books. In 1701 the college was incorporated by the assembly, which, at the same time, granted sixty pounds toward its support. Holding its earlier sessions at Saybrook, the college was presently removed to New Haven. Here, eighteen years after its foundation, the name of Yale was conferred upon it, in memory of a generous benefactor.

In May, 1701, the assembly enacted that its sessions should be held alternately at Hartford and New Haven—an arrangement which has never since been changed.

Meanwhile the crown had not despaired of depriving the colony of its charter, without a resort to manifest tyranny. Complaining that the chartered colonies afforded refuge to pirates and illegal traders, and that they interfered with English commerce, by depreciating the worth of coins, and by encouraging "woollen and other manufactures proper for England;" the British lords of trade, in April, 1701, introduced

into Parliament a bill to abrogate the colonial charters, and place over the colonies "such a government as should make them duly subservient to England."

The principal opposition which this measure met with came from Connecticut, against whose charter it was especially aimed. Leave being granted, Sir Henry Ashurst plead on behalf of the colony before the bar of the House of Lords. Glancing at the rights and privileges of the charter, Ashurst contended that the colonists had obtained them as the reward of valuable services rendered, in enlarging the English dominions and commerce, by purchasing, planting, subduing, and defending an extensive country. To take away this reward in order to punish its recipients for slight offences, by no means clearly proved against them, would be not only unjust to the colonists in their corporate capacity, but ruinous to their individual interests, inasmuch as the titles of their estates depended for security upon the charter.

These arguments, together with others directed against the general features of the proposed measure, did much to induce its subsequent withdrawal; but there is little probability that the result would have been so favourable, had not a press of other business demanded the serious attention of Parliament. A general European war was impending. In May, 1702, England

and her allies declared hostilities against France and Spain.

Again the colonies were involved in a fierce and desolating war with the French and Indians of Canada. Confined almost exclusively to the borders of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, the horrors of this conflict were not immediately experienced by Connecticut. There was considerable alarm, however, in the frontier settlements, for the defence of which the assembly took prompt and vigorous steps. Money and troops were also contributed liberally for the protection of Massachusetts and New Hampshire.

While the colony was thus exerting itself to meet the emergencies of the war, its enemies were not idle. Most active among these were Cornbury and Dudley, the governors of New York and Massachusetts, both of whom had promoted the lately foiled scheme against the colonial liberties. Moved, the one by the avarice of a profligate spendthrift, and the other by ambition to rule over all New England, the two governors left no means untried to accomplish their several ends. Both exhibited commissions to command the militia; Cornbury, of Connecticut, and Dudley, of Rhode Island; but as it had already been decided that the crown had no right to grant such commissions, obedience was refused to them. Then, pretending to dread

a French invasion, Cornbury called upon the Connecticut assembly for money to repair the defences of New York. As it was known that he had squandered the sums appropriated for this purpose by the New York legislature, that of Connecticut sturdily refused to vote him the desired grant. Incensed at this refusal, he wrote home a long letter of complaint, in which he laboured to furnish the crown with some plausible pretext for wresting away the colonial charters. Connecticut and Rhode Island were especially inveighed against. "They hate everybody," said he, "that owes any subjection to the queen." In this attack he was joined by Dudley, who procured the services of a venal writer to prepare a slanderous volume, entitled the "Doom, or Miseries of Connecticut;" in which, in addition to many vile calumnies respecting the colony, a royal governor was recommended for New England. At this very time Dudley evinced his duplicity, by inditing a letter of thanks to the Connecticut assembly, for the promptness and abundance of the supplies they had furnished him; while, in the above-mentioned volume, their "remissness" on this point, was made an especial charge against the colony.

Neither Cornbury nor Dudley was without influence; the latter having many distinguished friends at court, while the former was a cousin to the queen. Their labours were so far suc-

cessful, that it was again proposed to place a royal governor over Connecticut. But the lords of trade would not condemn the colony unheard. Sir Henry Ashurst a second time exerted himself nobly in its defence, and a complete vindication was forwarded to England of all the charges that had been made against it. Connecticut triumphed. The proposed measure was abandoned.

But the two governors were not intimidated by this second defeat. During the same year of their repulse, (1705,) they brought fresh charges against the colony. Incited by their representations, the Quakers of England complained of the law that had formerly been passed by Connecticut, against the practicers of the peculiar doctrines of the Society of Friends. This law, long obsolete, and, in fact, never enforced, save against a fanatical offshoot of the Quaker sect, the queen in council declared null and void, as if it were a new enactment, without waiting for the excuse presently given by Connecticut for delaying to repeal it.

Though the colony was thus made to suffer considerable odium on account of what was called its Puritan intolerance, the promoters of the complaint against it were disappointed; inasmuch as they had hoped that their exertions would result in the revocation of its charter.

Meanwhile, Dudley had taken a strong interest in an affair which he thought might be

turned to his and Cornbury's advantage in their plans against Connecticut. Claiming to be the guardians of the Mohegan tribe, the grandchildren of Major Mason, the hero of the Pequod war, instituted a suit against the colonial authorities, on behalf of the Indians, to recover certain lands which, as they alleged, the colony had undertaken to make grants of, without possessing any thing more than a jurisdiction right. Falsely representing that Connecticut had acted very unjustly in this matter, Dudley procured the appointment of a royal commission, of which he was himself president, to examine into and decide the dispute. After an ex parte hearing of the case, the commissioners decided one point against the colony, ordering it to restore to Dwaneco, chief of the Mohegans, two several tracts of land, containing many thousand acres, and to pay a heavy bill of costs. The court then adjourned, to convene again in May, 1706. This meeting, however, never took place. Appealing at once against the decision of the commissioners, many of whom were shown to be interested parties, the assembly forwarded a full statement of the affair to the queen, who presently appointed a council to revise the whole case. Though nearly seventy years elapsed before this dispute was finally settled in favour of the colony, the purpose for which Dudley promoted it was completely frustrated.

Rumors reaching the colony that the French and Indians were preparing for a descent upon New England, a council of war convened at Hartford, in February, 1707. Danbury, Woodbury, Waterbury, and Simsbury, the then westernmost settlements, were ordered to be placed in a condition to repel attacks. In November of the same year, Governor Winthrop died, at an advanced age, lamented by the colonists as one endeared to them by his blameless life and valuable services in their behalf. Meeting in the following month, a special assembly chose the Rev. Gurdon Saltonstall, of New London, to occupy the vacant gubernatorial chair. By a law of the colony, all candidates for the governorship were required to be selected from among the members of the upper house of assembly. This law was now repealed; and, in May, 1708, the votes of the freemen confirmed the election of Saltonstall, who continued to be annually rechosen during the next seventeen years. About this period, it would seem, the custom, long afterward prevalent in Connecticut, of preaching "freemen's meeting sermons," originated in an order of the legislature that, "on the day appointed by law for choosing civil rulers," "the ministers of the gospel should preach to the freemen a sermon, proper for their direction in the work before them."

Meanwhile, marauding bands of French and

Indians, marching with silent celerity from Canada, continued to harass the frontiers of New England. To put an end to these incursions, an invasion of Canada was projected. Promised aid from England, the colonies bestirred themselves actively; sanguinely expecting, in one campaign, to add to the British dominions all New France eastward of the great lakes. By extraordinary efforts, two considerable armies were assembled; one near the head of Lake Champlain, to march upon Montreal; the other, at Boston, to act in conjunction with the expected fleet against Acadia, Newfoundland, and Quebec. But unforeseen events withheld the promised aid from England; and the colonial troops, after spending the summer idly in camp, were mostly disbanded in the autumn of 1709. The expenses of this useless display of energy were exceedingly heavy. Wanting money to support her quota of the troops, Connecticut now issued her first bills of credit, to the amount of eight thousand pounds. Of the three hundred and fifty levies sent into the field by the colony, ninety fell victims to disease while in camp.

An expedition, fitted out the following year against Acadia, was more fortunate. Thirty transports, bearing four New England regiments, supported by six British men of war, having on board five hundred marines, the whole under the command of Colonel Nicholson, set sail from

Boston in September, and soon after cast anchor before Port Royal, of which a vigorous siege was immediately commenced. The conquest of this fortress, one of the strongest in North America, proved a work of no great difficulty. On the 16th of October, the French garrison, numbering one hundred and fifty-six ragged and half-famished men, surrendered as prisoners of war. Leaving four hundred soldiers in the captured fortress, which was now named Annapolis, Nicholson returned in triumph to Massachusetts with the remaining troops.

Animated by this easy acquisition of Acadia, the northern colonies again took up the favourite project of conquering Canada. Little expecting to obtain what they asked for, they despatched Nicholson to England to solicit the assistance of government. Returning in June, 1711, he gave notice that an English fleet of fifteen ships of war, and forty transports, having on board five veteran regiments, was already on its way to Boston. Sudden and scarcely hoped for, the arrival of the fleet a few days afterward found the colonists unprepared for immediate co-operation. But, exerting themselves with remarkable promptitude and energy, the northern provinces, in little more than a month, collected provisions for the support of the troops, and levied two considerable armies; one of which, about three thousand strong, embarked on the 30th of July,

along with the British regiments, in the fleet of Admiral Walker, against the fortress of Quebec. The other, composed of some fifteen hundred men from Connecticut, New York, and New Jersey, assembled at Albany, under the command of Nicholson, preparatory to an attack upon Montreal. But they never marched.

After losing nearly a thousand men by shipwreck, the result of his own inefficiency and obstinate resistance to the advice of the provincial pilots, Walker abandoned the attempt against Quebec, and returned ingloriously to England. Of course, the troops under Nicholson were now disbanded.

In addition to the disappointment and heavy pecuniary losses attending this failure, the colonies were forced to bear the unjust accusation of having occasioned it, by their delay in co-operating with the British fleet and army. Such, at least, was the excuse offered by Walker and his officers for their shameful retreat. In England, however, a tolerably fair view was taken of the matter, and public indignation ran high against the conduct of the admiral; while the Americans, with some plausibility, denounced the whole enterprise as a tory scheme, intended to fail, and devised solely to impoverish and disgrace the colonies.

During the year following this futile attempt against Canada, negotiations were entered into,

which, in 1713, resulted in the peace of Utrecht. This, though stigmatized by the Whigs of England as sacrificing the fruits of many triumphs, was yet regarded by the Anglo-American colonies as one highly advantageous to them, and not to be passed over without rejoicing.

Connecticut, alone, of the northern provinces, had escaped the attacks of the enemy. For the last four years, however, the contest had been somewhat expensive to the colony; bills of credit to the amount of one hundred and fifty thousand dollars having been issued during that period. The population of the commonwealth at the close of the war was about seventeen thousand, distributed through four counties and forty-five towns. Its manufactures were yet inconsiderable. There being but one fuller in the colony, most of the home-made clothing was worn without shearing or pressing. So far there had been no permanent printer in the province. In 1714, however, Mr. Timothy Green, a descendant of the first printer in Massachusetts, came to New London, and there set up an establishment, which, having the government patronage, continued to flourish for many years.

During the same year which gave quiet to the colonies, a long-continued dispute as to the boundary between Connecticut and Massachusetts was amicably adjusted. The line run in 1642, had been the cause of considerable ill-

feeling. It was now laid out anew, pretty much as at present; excepting that the towns of Woodstock, Suffield, and Enfield, having been settled by emigrants from both provinces, under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, were allowed to continue a part of that colony. Connecticut, however, undoubtedly losing territory by this arrangement, was compensated by the grant of one hundred and seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-three acres of wild land in Massachusetts, the proceeds of the sale of which were soon afterward applied to the support of Yale College.

CHAPTER XI.

Decline in morals—Consequent action of the assembly—Renewed attempts to abridge the charters of New England—Liberality of Governor Saltonstall—Proposed union of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, into one royal province—Spirited refusal of the colonists—Talcott and Law governors—Political quiet—Religious controversies—War between England and France—New England colonies resolve upon the conquest of Louisburg—Expedition prepared—Departs—Arrives before Louisburg—Troops effect a landing—Royal battery taken—Labours of the siege—French reinforcements captured—Colonists repulsed in an assault on the island battery—Preparations to storm the city—Louisburg capitulates—Rejoicings of the colonists—French plan an invasion of New England—Colonies prepare to conquer Canada—Project abandoned—Alarm caused by a French squadron—Peace.

THE close of Queen Anne's war found Connecticut disturbed by a decline in that condition of moral order which, to this period at least, had given the colony no little cause for pardonable pride. Taking cognizance of the fact "that the glory had departed from them," and "that the providences of God were plainly telling them that their ways did not please him," the assembly, in May, 1714, proposed certain questions to the ministers of the several churches of the province. In October, 1715, the pastors reported, "That there was a great want of Bibles;

that the Sabbath was frequently neglected; and that there was a great deficiency in family government." Besides, they complained of "tale-bearing and defamation;" of intemperance, and of "calumniating and contempt of authority and order, both civil and ecclesiastical." As there were already laws to regulate these matters, the assembly could but direct the attention of the town officers to them, with injunctions to enforce them more faithfully in future.

Considerable alarm was excited at this period by the introduction into Parliament of a new bill for the better regulation of the chartered governments. Opposed earnestly by Dummer, the provincial agent in London, the projected measure was presently dropped.

Nearly five years later, in 1720, the same bill again made its appearance in Parliament. To defeat it, Dummer was directed to spare neither pains nor expense; Saltonstall, the patriotic old governor of the colony, generously transferring his extensive pecuniary credit in England to the agent's use. A second time the faithful Dummer contended for the existing liberties of the colony. His elaborate and cogently argumentative "Defence of the New England charters" was successful. Again the obnoxious bill was withdrawn by its friends.

Thus balked in their bolder attempts to deprive Connecticut of its chartered privileges, the

enemies of the colony soon afterward devised a scheme to induce it to surrender them of its own accord. It was proposed that Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire should be united in one province, with a governor deriving his appointment from the crown. But this proposition the two first-named colonies rejected with the strongest expressions of disapprobation; declaring that, should they ever part with even one of their liberties, it would only be when that liberty was "wrested from them."

Governor Saltonstall dying in 1724, Major Joseph Talcott was chosen to fill the executive chair of the commonwealth—a station he continued to occupy for the next seventeen years, being succeeded in 1741 by Jonathan Law.

The period thus summarily passed over, was one of political quiet and continued prosperity. Eras of this character are productive of but few important events which can properly be admitted into a succinct account of the progress of a state. Material for many chapters might easily be gathered from the ecclesiastical history of Connecticut, during the concluding thirty years of the first half of the eighteenth century. Though the semi-theocratic form of the colonial government seems to require it, the limits of this volume will not afford space for a clear and faithful recital of the religious controversies which, for thirty years, agitated more

or less the entire province. The virulence of this polemical warfare was greatly increased by the intolerant action of the members of the general assembly, who, in the narrow spirit of bigoted sectaries, enacted various laws, under the operation of which severe punishments were inflicted upon all those who refused to conform to the established religion of the colony.

Hostilities had already raged for several years between Great Britain and Spain, when, in May, 1744, the colonies received the first intimation that France had entered into the contest, through the capture of Fort Canso, in Nova Scotia, by a French expedition from the Island of Cape Breton. An attack upon Annapolis followed, and was with difficulty repelled; while numerous privateers threatened the fisheries and commerce of New England with destruction.

Determined to put a stop to these offensive operations of the enemy, the now fully aroused colonists debated among themselves what measures it would be best to adopt. To Louisburg, on the Island of Cape Breton, the attention of the more thoughtful was early directed. Here it was the French privateers found a commodious and safe harbour, sheltered by a fortress, which, from its great size and strength, had been termed the Dunkirk of America. Five millions and a half of dollars and twenty-five years of labour had been expended in its erection. While this

remained in the hands of the enemy, New England could not reasonably hope for security. The design of attempting its reduction, hesitatingly entertained at first, seemed wholly practicable to Shirley, the governor of Massachusetts, when certain English captives, returning home on parole from Louisburg, reported the garrison to be weak, and the works out of repair.

Writing to England for naval assistance, Shirley broached his project to the Massachusetts assembly, which, by a majority of one vote, resolved to engage in the bold undertaking. Aid being solicited from the other colonies, Pennsylvania sent provisions, New Jersey money, and New York ten pieces of artillery. The troops—all volunteers—were New England men; from Massachusetts three thousand; from Connecticut five hundred; and from New Hampshire three hundred. To lead this untrained but enthusiastic army of farmers, fishermen, and mechanics, Shirley selected William Pepperell, a merchant of Maine. Second in command, and heading the troops of Connecticut, was Roger Wolcott, who, from the condition of an uneducated apprentice boy, had already elevated himself by the force of natural talents and persevering energy, to the lieutenant-governorship of his native province.

Unsustained by any hope of assistance from England, Shirley determined to try the colonial

troops alone. On the 24th of March, 1745, the Massachusetts armament set sail for Canso. Arriving there the 4th of April following, they found the New Hampshire men already assembled, and were presently joined by the Connecticut division. Sailing from Canso, in a hundred New England vessels, accompanied by a British squadron, which had opportunely and unexpectedly joined the expedition, the adventurous colonists entered Labarus Bay, in full view of the citadels of Louisburg, early on the morning of the 30th of April.

In high spirits, and sanguine of success, the troops pushed boldly for the shore, putting to flight the force sent to oppose their landing. That night, Vaughan, a brave New Hampshire man, leading a few companies, marched by the city to the north-east harbour, and, setting fire to a number of warehouses adjacent to the royal battery, struck a panic in its garrison, who, having spiked their guns, fled within the walls of the city. The next morning Vaughan took possession of the abandoned works; from which a heavy fire was presently opened against the town, and upon the island battery fronting the main harbour.

Laughing at the technicalities of military engineering, the hardy colonists pressed the siege vigorously. Little science was displayed in their approaches, but they made them with a hearty

good-will and untiring enthusiasm, that betokened their ultimate triumph. The erection of batteries was the most fatiguing of their labours; every one of the cannon having to be carried a distance of more than two miles from the landing-place, over morasses impassable for wheels, and in which the men sunk to their knees in mud. To add to the hardship of this duty, which employed the soldiers for two weeks, it could only be performed at night, inasmuch as the whole route lay open to the cannon of the besieged.

Meanwhile the squadron, cruising off the harbour, encountered and captured the Vigilant, a French man-of-war, having on board a large reinforcement, and numerous supplies for the beleaguered fortress. Already several attempts had failed to take the island battery, which commanded the entrance of the harbour. Soon after the capture of the Vigilant, a more vigorous assault of this work was planned. In boats, under cover of the night of May the 26th, the adventurous assailants endeavoured to force a landing. After an hour's hard fighting, they were repulsed, with the loss of sixty killed, and one hundred and sixteen taken captive.

This untoward affair resulted, however, in some slight advantage. The English prisoners, as if animated by one spirit, when separately questioned as to the number of the besiegers, indulged in exaggerations of the real force, which

the dispersed state of the troops seemed to confirm. Greatly disturbed by their accounts, the French commander was still more disheartened by the intelligence of the loss of the Vigilant, a circumstance of which, up to this time, he had remained entirely ignorant.

Meanwhile, the colonists, under the direction of Gridley, of Massachusetts, had laboriously erected a battery on the cliffs opposite the town, by means of which they annoyed greatly the fortifications on the island. Another battery, thrown up within two hundred yards of the city, now thundered against the north-west gate. Active preparations were at the same time being made to carry the town by assault, in the midst of a bombardment which the men-of-war were to open upon it, having first forced their way into the harbour.

Every thing thus far had favoured the besiegers. The weather had been unusually dry for the climate; and, in consequence, the troops were much freer from disease than the most sanguine had expected they would be. Besides, the French garrison, all along comparatively feeble, was now mutinous; so generally so, that the officers would not venture a sally, for fear the men should desert. This fact, and the visible preparations of the English to storm the town, induced Duchambon, the French governor, to send out a flag of truce. On the 17th of June,

forty-nine days after the commencement of the siege, terms of capitulation were agreed to, and the city, the fort, and batteries were surrendered together with nineteen hundred troops, one-third of which were regulars, and an immense quantity of valuable stores.

By this unlooked-for capitulation the colonists were saved the necessity of an assault. And they were thankful for it. The most courageous of them were appalled when they beheld the scarcely impaired strength and formidable massiveness of the fortifications. Nothing could have prevented the defeat of a storming party.

The capture of Louisburg, shedding a redeeming lustre over one of the most unfortunate wars ever participated in by Great Britain, excited throughout the American colonies a feeling of unbounded joy. Flushed with their triumph, they speedily revived the favourite, but hitherto unlucky project of an invasion of Canada. On the other hand, France felt painfully the blow inflicted upon her North American power; and, preparing to retaliate, planned for the ensuing campaign, not only the reconquest of Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, but also the complete subjugation of New England.

Complying partly with a request from Shirley, the British ministry, early in 1746, forwarded to the American governors a plan for the con-

quest of Canada. A fleet and army from England were to be joined at Louisburg by four thousand levies from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire, and thence proceed by the St. Lawrence against Quebec; while the troops of Connecticut, New York, and the more southern colonies, assembling at Albany, were to cross Lake Champlain and invest Montreal.

With more than their usual alacrity executing the duties assigned them by the crown, the colonies speedily raised their respective quotas of troops. Connecticut alone brought a thousand men into the field. But neither general, fleet, army, nor orders arrived from England. As the season for active employment was fast wearing away, it was proposed by Shirley and Pepperell to advance a body of colonists against Crown Point. While this design was being matured, a large force of Indians and Canadians threatened an attack upon Annapolis. Preparations were scarcely begun to embark troops for the defence of the imperilled point, when intelligence was received that threw all New England into a state of intense alarm. A French squadron, numbering fifty ships-of-war, having on board three thousand veteran troops, was crossing the Atlantic to reconquer Cape Breton and Nova Scotia, and invade the eastern colonies.

Abandoning their design upon Canada, the colonists prepared to repel this powerful arma-

ment. Forts were strengthened, the militia called out, and troops stationed at every available point. But, after suffering from the liveliest apprehensions for nearly two months, their alarm was turned to rejoicing. Encountering disaster after disaster, the shattered fleet of the enemy, having lost its two chief officers, one by sickness and the other by suicide,—was finally dispersed by a storm. Such of the vessels as escaped shipwreck, returned singly to France. From this period the war was conducted with little spirit by either of the belligerent powers. In 1647 negotiations were entered into which, during the following year, resulted in the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

CHAPTER XII.

Prosperity of Connecticut—Towns of Enfield, Woodstock, Somers, and Duffield received under the jurisdiction of Connecticut—Governors Wolcott and Fitch—Difficulties between England and France—Hostilities commenced—Plan of colonial union proposed—Rejected by the colonies and the Lords of Trade—Campaign of 1755—Israel Putnam—Sketch of his life—His character—His adventure with the wolf—Victory of Lake George—Honour of it claimed for Lyman of Connecticut—Defeat of Braddock—Failure of Shirley—Campaign of 1756—Loudoun appointed commander-in-chief—Oswego captured by the French—Shameful close of the campaign—Campaign of 1756—Expedition set on foot against Louisburg—Loudoun's inactivity at Halifax—Returns to New York—Montcalm descends upon Fort William Henry—Putnam informs Webb, at Fort Edward, of Montcalm's approach—Vacillating conduct of Webb—Surrender of Munro—Massacre of the English prisoners attempted—Heroism of Montcalm—Alarm of the colonies—Promptness of Connecticut—Fort Edward saved by the daring energy of Putnam.

For several years subsequent to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, the history of Connecticut was unmarked by little, save the prosperity that usually attends peace.

Claiming to be within the chartered limits of Connecticut, the towns of Enfield, Woodstock, Somers, and Suffield, disregarding the boundary arrangement of 1713, by which their jurisdiction had been ceded to Massachusetts, applied

for, and, in 1750, obtained the consent of the former colony to live under its laws, and to be a part of its territory. Massachusetts deemed this act an unjust one, and threatened an appeal to the crown. But this threat was never put in execution.

Dying in 1751, Governor Law was succeeded by Roger Walcott. Suspected, groundlessly it would now appear, of having connived at the defrauding of a Spanish trader, Wolcott was not long retained in office. In the election of 1754 he received scarcely a vote. His successor was Thomas Fitch, a man of no great ability, but who, for the twelve following years, was annually re-elected to the highest office in the colony.

Meanwhile serious difficulties had arisen between the governments of England and France. Eager for empire in the New World, both countries hastened to enlarge as much as possible their respective North American possessions. Mutual "encroachments," as they were called by the contending nations, led to collisions of a sanguinary character. By the summer of 1754 war had virtually begun, though two years elapsed before hostilities were formally proclaimed.

In view of the approaching conflict, the British Lords of Trade had already proposed a union of the Anglo-American colonies. Accordingly, commissioners from the several assemblies con-

vened at Albany, in June, 1754. Benjamin Franklin's celebrated scheme of colonial confederation was presently introduced into the convention, and after some debate, adopted almost unanimously. Only the cautious representatives of Connecticut opposed it, chiefly on account of the negative power allowed the governor-general, whom it was proposed the crown should appoint, over the acts of the contemplated grand council of delegates from the several provincial assemblies.

Declaring that it "would tend to subvert the liberties and privileges" of the colonists, the people of Connecticut were intensely alarmed by the proposed plan of confederation. But their apprehensions were soon quieted. Rejected by every one of the colonial assemblies, Franklin's scheme was wholly disapproved of by the government in England. No better was the fate of that subsequently brought forward by the Lords of Trade. Particularly odious, as suggesting parliamentary taxation of the colonies, the assemblies scarcely deigned to notice it.

War being unavoidable, General Braddock, with two regiments of regulars, was despatched from England to take command of the army in North America. Meeting a congress of colonial governors in April, 1755, Braddock concerted with them three separate but simultaneous expeditions against Forts Duquesne, Niagara, and

Crown Point. In the latter of these, which was led by Johnson of New York, Connecticut bore an important part. One of her most popular citizens—Major-General Phineas Lyman—was second in command; and among the officers who headed her thousand accompanying levies, none were more efficient than Colonel Whiting and Israel Putnam, then an inexperienced captain of rangers. With regard to the character and previous life of the latter, some few words seem necessary.

Born at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1718, Putnam emigrated, when quite a young man, to Pomfret, in Connecticut. Here he had lived a farmer's quiet life for nearly sixteen years. By no means unlettered, but with few educational advantages, he already possessed a reputation for native sagacity and daring courage. The following anecdote may serve to illustrate the latter trait in his character.

A she-wolf, which had long been a scourge to the neighbouring farmers, was finally tracked in the snow to a cave near Putnam's house. From this stronghold, a winter's day was spent in vain efforts to drive her. Night coming on, Putnam grew impatient. Doffing his coat and vest, he avowed his determination to drag the wolf by the ears from her den. Carrying a torch of birch bark, and with a stout rope tied to his legs, he crawled on his hands and knees through

the narrow avenue leading to where the furious animal crouched, growling and gnashing her teeth in mingled rage and terror. After a hasty reconnoissance, Putnam gave the signal to be drawn out. Alarmed for his safety, his friends performed this duty with undue alacrity, tearing his clothes to tatters, and sorely bruising and lacerating his body and limbs. Armed with an old musket, Putnam a second time groped his hazardous way into the cavern. All before him was darkness, in the midst of which gleamed the fiery eyes of the wolf. Deliberately aiming between the glittering orbs, he fired. Stunned by the report, and nearly suffocated with smoke, Putnam was again dragged hurriedly out. After a few moments he re-entered the cave. The wolf was stone dead. Seizing her by the ears, he clung to them while his friends, with applauding cheers and shouts of exultation, hauled him and his shaggy prize into the open air.

The troops destined against Crown Point, advancing under Lyman to the portage between the Hudson and Lake George, built there Fort Lyman, called afterward Fort Edward. Johnson presently came up, took command, and marched, with three thousand four hundred men, to the southern shore of Lake George, where he formed an intrenched camp. His front was protected by a breastwork of felled trees; in his rear was

the lake; and both flanks were guarded by impassable swamps.

In the mean time the Baron Dieskau was advancing from Crown Point, at the head of two thousand Indians, Canadians, and French regulars, to besiege the recently constructed Fort Edward.

Informed of Dieskau's movement, Johnson detached from his camp a thousand provincials and Indians, under Colonel Williams, to relieve the threatened fortress. The French general had altered his plans, however, and was now marching directly upon the English camp; about three miles from which, in a narrow, rugged defile, he encountered Williams. Surprised and outnumbered, the provincials were thrown into momentary confusion; Williams falling, the command devolved upon Whiting, who, rallying the broken troops, they slowly retreated, fighting gallantly, to the camp.

Pressing the fugitives, Dieskau assaulted the centre of Johnson's line. An unexpected discharge from the English artillery drove his Indian and Canadian auxiliaries to the woods. With his regulars alone, the brave Frenchman endeavoured to surmount the breastwork; but, after five hours of daring effort, his forces were driven back in disastrous defeat, and such as were able fled precipitately to Crown Point.

Mortally wounded, Dieskau fell a prisoner into the hands of the victorious provincials.

Johnson having been slightly wounded during the early part of the action, the chief command had devolved upon Lyman. The honours of the victory, therefore, it was contended by the Connecticut troops, rightly belonged to their favourite. But, save by the praises and esteem of the New England people, his gallantry remained unrewarded, while Johnson was knighted by the crown, and received from Parliament a grant of five thousand pounds.

The triumph of Lake George was not followed up. Johnson alleged that he was unable to do so for the want of provisions and means of transportation. During the fall, while, twenty miles in advance of Crown Point, the French erected works at Ticonderoga, he lingered on Lake George, superintending the construction of Fort William Henry. On the approach of winter, this was garrisoned by six hundred of the provincials. The rest were allowed to return to their homes.

The partial success of the Crown Point expedition poorly compensated for the sanguinary and disastrous defeat of that against Duquesne, under the command of the ill-fated Braddock, or for the failure of the one, headed by Shirley of Massachusetts, against Niagara.

Succeeding Braddock as commander-in-chief,

Shirley was about to open the campaign of 1756, when he was superseded by Lord Loudoun, one of the most inefficient officers the crown could have placed at the head of the colonial forces. Arriving late in the season, Loudoun determined to lead the main army against Ticonderoga and Crown Point, while General Webb marched with a thousand regulars to reinforce the garrison of Oswego, an important fortress erected, the previous year, on the southern shore of Lake Ontario. Some time elapsed before the two divisions commenced their march. Loudoun still lingered at Albany, when Webb hastily returned with the alarming intelligence that Oswego had fallen. At once shamefully closing the campaign, the commander-in-chief recalled the troops advancing toward Ticonderoga, garrisoned Forts Edward and William Henry, and dismissed the greater part of the provincials.

Extensive preparations were made for a vigorous campaign in 1757. By the generous efforts of the colonies, in which Connecticut fully shared, Loudoun was enabled to take the field in the spring with a numerous and effective force. But, with his characteristic procrastination, he made no movement of consequence until midsummer; and then only against Louisburg, which, greatly to the indignation of the colonists, had been restored to the French by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

Garrisoning Forts Edward and William Henry with most of the newly-raised provincials, Loudoun sailed to Halifax at the head of six thousand regulars. There he was joined by a British fleet, and six thousand additional troops. Instead of at once investing Louisburg, the dilatory chief lingered at Halifax so long that a large French fleet anchored before the fortress it was proposed to attack. An assault was now out of the question. Re-embarking his troops, Loudoun returned to New York, and thus ended the offensive operations of the year.

Meantime, Montcalm, the active and enterprising commander of the French, had filled the northern colonies with alarm. Availing himself of Loudoun's useless withdrawal of so many men, he collected eight thousand regulars, Canadians and Indians, and hastened down Lake George to attack Fort William Henry. This was a structure of no great strength, but of considerable importance, situated on a gentle eminence near the south-western extremity of the lake, and garrisoned by about three thousand men, under Colonel Monroe. General Webb, with four thousand troops, was at Fort Edward, some fifteen miles distant.

Through Putnam, now a major in one of the Connecticut regiments, who, narrowly escaping capture, had performed the dangerous duty of reconnoitering the enemy's position at Ticon-

deroga, Webb received timely information of Montcalm's advance, but he neither followed the advice of Putnam to assail the French as they landed, nor sent a sufficient reinforcement to Fort William Henry. Twenty-four hours afterward, on the 3d of August, the fortress was invested.

Monroe immediately despatched messengers to Fort Edward for relief. Webb reluctantly allowed a call for volunteers. This opportunity the provincials eagerly embraced; none more so than Putnam and his rangers. But scarcely had they begun their march, when Webb recalled them, and sent a letter to Monroe advising him to surrender. Montcalm himself afterward assured Putnam that, when informed of this movement of the provincials by his Indian scouts, he had made every preparation for hastily raising the siege.

Having for six days bravely maintained his post, Monroe was forced to capitulate. The terms were favourable. Promising not to serve against the French for eighteen months, the garrison were to be allowed to depart with the honours of war to Fort Edward, under a strong escort of Montcalm's troops. Dissatisfied with these terms, the French general's barbarian allies fell upon the disarmed and retreating English. Twenty were at once tomahawked. The remainder fled in dismay to the woods, to Fort

Edward, and to the French camp. Aided by his officers, Montcalm exerted himself daringly to stay the work of destruction. Rushing into the midst of the infuriated savages, he begged them to slay him rather than the English, who were under his protection. His efforts were not without success. Very few of the English were killed beyond those who fell in the first onslaught.

The news of this event caused an intense alarm. For the first time Webb called on the colonies for their assistance. The call was answered promptly. Connecticut alone, in a few days, had five thousand men on the march. But this activity was of no avail. Having dismantled the captured fortress, Montcalm was already on his return to Canada.

During the winter following this disastrous close of the campaign of 1757, an event took place at Fort Edward, which exhibited in a strong light the cool and indomitable daring of Putnam, who was then stationed in the neighbourhood. Within twelve feet of the magazine, containing three hundred barrels of powder, stood a barrack, which by some accident caught fire. Putnam reached the fort while the flames were spreading fiercely toward the magazine, and took his post on the roof of the burning building, so near to the flames, that, while he laboured to quench them, his mittens were burned

from his hands. Supplied with another pair soaked in water, he kept his post. Urged to descend, he replied that a suspension of his efforts would be fatal. Incited by his intrepidity, the commanding officer of the station, exclaiming that if they must perish all should be blown up together, ordered that nothing more should be removed from the fort. As the barracks began to totter, Putnam descended, and took a station between them and the magazine, the external planks of which were already consumed. Having contended with the flames for an hour and a half, Putnam had the satisfaction of finding his efforts successful. The fort was saved, and through him alone. The earnest thanks thus won from his commander had not been obtained cheaply. Weeks elapsed before he recovered from the exposure he had undergone. His face, arms, and almost his entire body were blistered. In removing his mittens, the skin of his hands came off with them.

CHAPTER XIII.

Campaign of 1758—Energetic course of Pitt—Popularity of his measures—Louisburg captured—Abercrombie advances against Ticonderoga—Lord Howe killed—Abercrombie defeated—Frontenac surprised by Bradstreet—Fort Duquesne abandoned by the French—Perilous adventure of Putnam—He is captured by the Indians—Is saved from torture and death by Molang—Molang sends him a prisoner to Montcalm—Colonel Schuyler procures his exchange—Campaign of 1759—Niagara surrendered to the English—Ticonderoga and Crown Point abandoned by the French—Amherst takes possession of the deserted posts—Quebec taken by Wolfe—Campaign of 1760—Three English armies advance upon Montreal—Putnam at the capture of Fort Oswegatchie—His important services in that affair—Montreal surrenders—Final conquest of Canada—Benedict Arnold—His character—Anecdotes of him—Enlists in the army, and is stationed at Ticonderoga—His desertion.

AFTER three expensive campaigns, the English had not advanced a single step. Rather, France had signally triumphed. Mortification and alarm filling the colonies extended to the mother country, where a feeble ministry was at length overthrown, and a new one, headed by William Pitt, afterward Earl of Chatham, came into power. By this distinguished man, whose unaided energy and eloquence had elevated him to the position he now occupied, the most vigorous measures were immediately adopted.

Meeting on the 8th of March, 1758, the Connecticut assembly took into consideration a circular letter from Pitt, who had sent similar circulars to the other provinces. Appealing to the courage and patriotism of the colonists, he invited them, in terms unusually respectful, to co-operate in his plans for the coming campaign. For any expenses they might incur he promised compensation; and agreed to furnish their levies with arms, ammunition, tents and provisions. Effectually removing one cause of colonial dissatisfaction, he obtained the king's order that every provincial officer, of no higher rank than colonel, should have equal command with those of the regular service.

His requisition was complied with cheerfully and with alacrity. Connecticut alone summoned five thousand men into the field. Early in May, Abercrombie, the successor of Loudoun, found himself at the head of fifty thousand troops, of which nearly one-half were regulars. With these, Louisburg, Ticonderoga, and Fort Duquesne, were to be simultaneously attacked. In the expedition, led by Abercrombie in person, against Ticonderoga, Connecticut participated largely.

The first blow fell on Louisburg; which, with its numerous dependencies, was surrendered in July to the combined naval and military forces, under Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst.

Meanwhile, at the head of a brilliant array of

fifteen thousand regulars and provincials, Abercrombie crossed Lake George. Landing near the outlet of the lake, he sent forward Lord Howe, with the van of the army, to make a circuitous march toward Ticonderoga. Led by bewildered guides, Howe's division, while wandering through the tangled wilderness, encountered a portion of the enemy's advanced guard. A sharp conflict ensued, in which the victorious English lost the life and soul of their enterprise —the brave, gallant, and widely-esteemed Lord Howe.

After some delay, the army fell back again to the landing-place, and by a new and shorter route marched to within two miles of the French works. Built upon a neck of land running out into the lake, Ticonderoga was defended by two redoubts, and a strong breastwork of huge logs; the approach to which was impeded by felled trees, stumps, and rubbish of all sorts. Behind this formidable breastwork, which Abercrombie, remaining distant from the scene of conflict, ordered his men to assault, Montcalm, the active and sagacious leader of the French, was posted with the greater part of his three thousand four hundred men.

On the 8th of July the attack was made. After struggling for four hours, obstinately and with the most remarkable bravery, to execute the unwise and hastily-formed plan of their

leader, the assailants were driven back, with a loss of more than two thousand of their number. Their precipitate retreat to Fort William Henry would have been a disorderly route, had it not been for the exertions of Bradstreet, Putnam, and others of the provincial officers.

At Fort William Henry, the energetic Bradstreet projected an expedition against Frontenac, an important French post, on the Canadian shore of Lake Ontario. Reluctantly supplied by Abercrombie with the necessary troops, he speedily and successfully put his plans into execution. Deprived of their wonted supplies by the capture of Frontenac, the French garrison of Fort Duquesne, on the approach of the expedition under Forbes, set fire to their works, and retreated down the Ohio. On the 25th of November the English forces took possession of the deserted post.

Meanwhile, the field of war lying around Ticonderoga and Forts William Henry and Edward, had been the scene of many personal adventures, the relation of some of which falls within the scope and plan of the present history.

Shortly after Abercrombie's shameful retreat from Ticonderoga, Putnam, with five men, was lying in a boat, on the eastern shore of the Hudson, just above the rapids near Fort Miller. Suddenly beset by savages, he found it impossible to escape, except by way of the rapids.

With his characteristic coolness and promptitude, he seized the helm, and steered boldly down the river. Unharmed by repeated vollies from the rifles of the savages, but driven hither and thither, and at times spun round like a top by the furiously-eddying current, and momentarily in danger of being dashed to pieces on the rocks he encountered, Putnam guided his frail bark with a steady hand as it sped with arrowy swiftness down the hazardous stream. A few minutes of breathless anxiety elapsed, and the peril was passed. Shot from the foaming and roaring rapids, Putnam and his comrades glided quietly over the smooth waters below.

"On witnessing this spectacle," says the original narrator, "it is asserted that the Indians were affected with the same sort of superstitious veneration which the Europeans, in the dark ages, entertained for some of their most valorous companions. They deemed the man invulnerable, whom their balls on his pushing from the shore could not touch, and whom they had seen steering in safety down the rapids that had never before been passed. They conceived it would be an affront against the Great Spirit to kill this favoured mortal with powder and ball, if they should ever see him and know him again."

A week or so later Putnam was not so fortunate. Five hundred rangers having been detached under Major Rogers and himself, to

watch the enemy near Ticonderoga, were returning to Fort Edward, when they fell into an ambush, skilfully prepared by Molang, a celebrated French partisan, who had with him an equal number of Indians and Canadians. It was early morning, and the Americans had just left their encampment. Though unlooked for, the assault was sustained with coolness and intrepidity by Putnam, who led the advance.

In the heat of the conflict that ensued, the gallant major presented his musket to the breast of an athletic savage. The weapon missed fire. Powerful though he was, Putnam was now no match for his antagonist. He yielded himself prisoner. Binding him securely to a tree, his captor again entered the fray.

While thus bound, unable to move a limb, the conflict raged furiously around the spot where Putnam was confined. Midway between the contending parties, his position was one of extreme peril. Bullets from foes and friends whistled continually by; many struck the tree to which he was bound; and several passed through various parts of his coat. Once, too, a young savage amused himself by throwing his tomahawk at the prisoner, to see how near to him he could hurl it, without striking him; and another, a brutal Frenchman, having vainly endeavoured to discharge his musket in Putnam's

breast, with the butt of it struck him a terrible blow upon the cheek.

At length, after a long and obstinate conflict, the provincials drove the enemy from the field. Putnam, however, was carried off a prisoner. Stripped of his coat, vest, stockings and shoes, with his hands tied painfully together, and labouring under the load of several heavy packs, he was compelled to march rapidly over a rugged and stony path, by which his feet were bruised and lacerated at almost every step.

Toward evening he was sent forward with a party of Indians to the place where it was proposed to encamp that night. On the way his sufferings were augmented by a severe gash on the cheek from a tomahawk.

Halting at dusk in the deep shadows of the primeval forest, Putnam's barbarian escort, stripping him naked, bound him to a tree, and with wild songs of exultation began to pile around him heaps of dry fuel. Calmly and courageously the captive awaited what he knew would be a horrible death. One of the heaps was blown into a light blaze, but a passing shower extinguished it. Again and again was the torch applied to the collected fuel. Presently the flames burned briskly. Putnam was the centre of a circle of fire. Already he writhed with torture, but permitted no groan to escape him, when a French officer, breaking through the

throng of dancing and yelling savages, dashed aside the blazing brands, and with his sword severed the thongs that bound the suffering captive.

Thus rescued by the brave Molang himself, Putnam was finally taken to Montreal. When he arrived there, he was a doleful spectacle; scantily covered with rags, barefooted, bruised, gashed, and unshorn. Colonel Schuyler, of New Jersey, then a prisoner at Montreal, with that kindness which formed a prominent trait in his character, promptly supplied all the wants of his less fortunate fellow-captive; and, when the taking of Frontenac occasioned an exchange of prisoners, he procured the release of Putnam, who was presently sent home.

Incited by the general success of the late campaign, Pitt, in 1759, planned the complete conquest of Canada. Three expeditions were projected: one against Quebec, and two others, intended to co-operate with it, against Niagara and Crown Point. Stimulated by a prompt reimbursal of their last year's expenses, the colonies displayed an unusual degree of energy. Connecticut, alone, enlisted four regiments, numbering in all six thousand men, and respectively commanded by Major-General Lyman and Colonels Whiting, Wooster and Fitch. Putnam again took the field as lieutenant-colonel of the fourth regiment.

Moving first, General Prideaux, on the 6th of July, invested Niagara. During the siege he was killed by the bursting of a cohorn. On the 25th, the fort surrendered to Sir William Johnson, upon whom the command of the besieging force had devolved.

Advancing with cautious slowness, General Amherst, the successor of Abercrombie, after several skirmishes, took possession of the now abandoned fortresses of Ticonderoga and Crown Point; but, like Johnson, was unable to proceed to Canada, and, by an attack upon Montreal, co-operate with the main expedition against Quebec. The result of this latter is well known, nor need the narrative of it be detailed here. Losing his life in the moment of glorious victory, the gallant Wolfe, after an arduous siege of nearly four months, succeeded in wresting from France its most important fortress in the New World. With the surrender of Quebec to the English, the French power in North America was effectually broken.

Eager to complete the subjugation of Canada, the New England colonies entered into the campaign of 1760 with their customary spirit. Montreal being still in the possession of the French, three armies were speedily set in motion, to meet under its walls. While General Murray advanced by the river from Quebec, and Colonel Haviland from Crown Point by way of Lake Champlain,

Amherst himself, at the head of ten thousand men, among whom were many of the Connecticut levies, embarked at Oswego, and sailed down Lake Ontario into the St. Lawrence.

Descending the river, the troops encountered two armed vessels, which not only barred their farther progress, but prevented an attack upon Fort Oswegatchie, a short distance below. Putnam, whose regiment accompanied the expedition, undertook with a thousand men to capture the ships. Provided with an old beetle, and a number of wedges, with which he proposed to block the rudders of the vessels, so as to prevent them from bringing their broadsides to bear, he set out to execute his bold and novel enterprise. Unexpectedly, however, no resistance was made. Forced by a mutinous crew, the commander of one ship struck his flag; the other was run ashore.

Fort Oswegatchie was next to be reduced. Insulated and defended by a strong abatis, which overhung the water's edge, it seemed scarcely accessible; but Putnam's ingenuity projected a novel plan for its capture. Under his directions boats were made ready, completely musket-proof, and with a broad plank, twenty feet long, attached to the bow of each, so that it could be raised or lowered at pleasure. These boats were to be rowed directly against the abattis; over the projecting stakes of which

the planks, till then upright, were to be let fall, so as to form a kind of bridge, by which the assailants might enter the fort. What would have been the success of this singular contrivance, if it had been necessary to make use of it, can only be conjectured. Disconcerted by the strange appearance of the boats as they moved to the attack, the garrison surrendered without firing a gun.

From Amherst, Putnam received the highest encomiums for his ingenuity and daring. Whatever might have been the merit of his plans, measured by the rules of military engineering, they certainly rendered the passage of the army down the river much quicker than the most sanguine had hoped that it would be. In consequence, Amherst and Murray, advancing from opposite directions, appeared before Montreal on the same day. Joined the following morning by Haviland, Amherst found himself at the head of an overwhelming force, against which the French offered no resistance. By the surrender of Montreal, on the 8th of September, the conquest of Canada was made complete.

During the subsequent year there was a considerable body of provincials called out, but they were mainly employed in repairing and strengthening the captured forts.

Among the new recruits from Connecticut, who thus performed duty at Ticonderoga, was a

youth of nineteen, Benedict Arnold by name, and the runaway apprentice of an apothecary at Norwich, the place of his birth. What in after years the man became to his country the boy Arnold already was to the little circle in which he moved—its admiration and detestation. Like his only good quality—determined and chivalrous, yet rash and reckless daring—his vices, which we are told were many, all sprung from the one bad principle of selfishness. Always foremost in danger, he sought only to gain applause. As mischievous as he was fearless, his boyish tricks seem to have been always cruel, merely to gratify himself. Of these traits anecdotes have been preserved. "One of his earliest amusements," writes his biographer, "was the robbing of birds' nests; and it was his custom to maim and mangle young birds in sight of the old ones, that he might be diverted by their cries." Of his reckless daring it is related, that "sometimes he took corn to a grist-mill in the neighbourhood, and, while waiting for the meal, he would amuse himself and astonish his playmates by clinging to the arms of a large water-wheel and passing with it beneath and above the water."

To one as ambitious for distinction as young Arnold, the unobtrusive duties of an apothecary were not at all attractive. Once previous, when only sixteen, he had enlisted; but this caused

his mother such distress, that her friends procured his release and brought him home again. On the present occasion, either the dullness of the campaign afforded him no opportunity to gratify his love of stirring adventure, or the restraints of garrison life proved irksome to the restless and unyielding spirit that swayed him; for, before the year was out, he deserted and returned home, narrowly escaping the vigilance of an officer sent in pursuit of himself and other recusants.

CHAPTER XIV.

Spain joins France against England—Expedition against Havana—Putnam joins it—Transport bearing the Connecticut regiment driven on a reef—Escape of all on board—Havana taken—Great mortality among the provincial troops—Peace of Fontainebleau—Wyoming settled by Connecticut emigrants—Jurisdiction claim of Connecticut—Wyoming settlers driven away by the Indians—Stamp Act proposed—Alarm of the colonies—Colonel Barre's reply to Townshend—Stamp Act passed—Course of Governor Fitch—Of Trumbull and Putnam—National Congress assembles—Its action—Proceedings approved by Connecticut—"Sons of Liberty"—Ingersoll's address to the Connecticut people—Stamp Act a nullity—It is repealed—Rejoicings in Connecticut—Sad accident at Hartford—Townshend's revenue bill passed—Action of the colonies—Pitkin governor of Connecticut—Townshend's bill repealed—Wyoming reoccupied by emigrants from Connecticut—Collisions with the Pennsylvanians—Connecticut people triumphant—Assumption of jurisdiction by Connecticut.

MEANWHILE, aggrieved by the establishment of British commercial posts in Central America, Spain had entered into what was called the "Family Compact" with France. Hostilities were again commenced vigorously, but not on the North American continent. To humble Spain, a powerful armament was fitted out in England against Havana. In addition to four regular regiments from New York, a large body

of provincials, under General Lyman, was ordered to join the expedition. Putnam accompanied as commander of the Connecticut regiment.

Arriving safely on the coast of Cuba, the fleet there encountered a terrible storm, during which the transport bearing Putnam and half the Connecticut regiment was driven upon a reef. All on board succeeded, however, in gaining the shore, where they remained strongly intrenched till the storm had lulled, and then re-embarked in the convoy. The fleet then sailed for Havana, which the English troops had already invested. The arrival of the American reinforcements gave new life and energy to the besiegers, who, in a few weeks, had lost half their number by privations, sickness, and in unsuccessful assaults. Incited to fresh effort, they speedily forced Havana into a capitulation, on the 12th of August, 1762. But the victory was dearly purchased by the English, who sunk by hundreds under the baneful influence of an unaccustomed climate. Of the provincial regiments, only a feeble remnant, composed chiefly of officers, lived to return home.

The capture of Havana, and other successes of the English, speedily brought the allied powers to terms. Peace was finally restored by the treaty arranged at Fontainebleau in November, 1762, and signed at Paris, February 10th, 1763.

By this treaty, all the North American continent east of the Mississippi was ceded to Great Britain.

Early in the subsequent spring, a small band of emigrants left Connecticut, and, after toiling through the intervening wilderness, began to build their cabins in that beautiful, but till then unsettled region, which has since become celebrated as the Valley of Wyoming. These emigrants were the pioneers of other and larger bodies sent out by the "Susquehanna Company," an association of some eight hundred Connecticut people, who, with the sanction of the assembly, had purchased the tract from its Indian owners in 1755, but had been prevented by the war from settling it at that time. Over the colony thus planted, Connecticut claimed jurisdiction—a claim undoubtedly authorized by the terms of its charter, but which Pennsylvania, as will presently be seen, was by no means willing to allow.

Five years subsequent to their first settlement, the Wyoming colonists, while dispersed at work in their fields, were suddenly and unexpectedly attacked by the neighbouring Indians. Twenty, or thereabouts were slain; many were taken captive; the rest abandoned their new homes, and fled through the woods to Connecticut.

In the mean time, the first act of the great drama of the War of Independence had been witnessed. From the days of Cromwell, England

had exercised an odious regulative and restrictive power over the commerce and manufactures of the North American colonies. Relieved from other cares by the peace of 1763, the British ministry unwisely determined to subject the provinces still further to the authority of the home government.

Urged on by Grenville, the prime minister, Parliament, in March, 1764, resolved that it had a right to tax the colonies. With a view of exercising the right thus claimed, it advised a bill requiring certain legal and other documents to be written on stamped paper, sold by crown officers, at prices which drew a stated tax from the purchaser.

Alarm and indignation at once agitated the American provinces. Declaring that their liberties as British subjects would be lost, if they were thus taxed by a legislative body in which they were not represented, the colonists forwarded to England remonstrance after remonstrance against the proposed measure. Nor did they lack bold and able friends in Parliament. While the obnoxious bill was being debated in the House of Commons, Townshend, one of the ministry, spoke of the colonists as "children planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence, and protected by our arms." Rising in his seat, Colonel Barre, who had served in America, indignantly retorted: "They planted by your care? No!

your oppressions planted them in an unprotected and inhospitable country.... They nourished by your indulgence? They grew up by your neglect of them.... They protected by your arms? They have nobly taken up arms in your defence.... Believe me—remember I this day told you so—that the same spirit of freedom which actuated those sons of liberty at first, will accompany them still; that they are a people jealous of their liberties, and will vindicate them if ever they should be violated."

Unheeding the warning thus given, and regardless of the petitions and remonstrances of the colonists, the ministers urged the bill through Parliament. Finally passed in March, 1765, it was to become operative on the 1st of November following.

The intervening period was one of intense excitement. From New Hampshire to Georgia a bold spirit of opposition to the Stamp Act pervaded the colonies. In Connecticut, Governor Fitch and a majority of the assistants seemed little disposed to resist the operation of the measure, but the popular feeling, directed by such men as Trumbull and Putnam, was earnestly against it.

At the recommendation of Massachusetts, a national Congress, composed of delegates from nine colonies, assembled at New York in October, and adopted a declaration of rights, a peti-

tion to the king, and memorials to both houses of Parliament. Spirited but respectful in their tone, these documents exhibited in a clear and strong light the rights and the grievances of the colonists, who, it was contended with an overwhelming force of argument, could not be taxed unless by the consent of their respective assemblies.

As the action of the Connecticut delegates was restricted to a report of the convention's proceedings, they did not sign the various papers adopted, but the assembly gave them its immediate and cordial approval.

Meanwhile, associations designed to unite the people in forcible opposition to the Stamp Act, had been formed in the northern provinces. Originating in Connecticut and New York, and thence rapidly extending to the adjoining colonies, these associations, borrowing the name "Sons of Liberty" from the speech of Barre, made the intimidation of stamp-officers the chief object of their formation, and mutually bound themselves to repair at once to the assistance of any place which might be endangered by its refusal to submit to the obnoxious law. Guided by combinations of this character, the popular spirit soon evinced itself alarmingly.

In view of the odium to which he was subjected, Ingersoll of Connecticut, who, at the instance of Franklin, had accepted the office of stamp-

distributor for his own colony, published an address "to the good people of Connecticut," in which he informed them that he "meant them a service" by that acceptance; "but," he continued, "if I find that you shall not incline to use any stamped paper, I shall not force it upon you, nor think it worth my while to trouble you or myself with any exercise of my office."

As in Connecticut, so in the other colonies, the stamp-officers either resigned voluntarily, or were compelled to do so by threats of violence, which in many instances were promptly executed. On the 1st of November, neither stamps nor stamp-officers were to be seen. After a short delay, business proceeded as if no such things existed.

A new and, ostensibly, more liberal ministry had meanwhile come into power. Finding that the obnoxious act was in effect nullified, they procured its repeal on the 19th of March, 1766. The gratification of the colonists was extreme. The assembly of Connecticut, which was in session at Hartford, when the intelligence of this provincial triumph arrived, appointed the Friday following as a day of general rejoicing, to be ushered in by the ringing of bells, the firing of cannon, and the hoisting of flags and streamers. But a terrible accident marred the pleasures of the day. Near by where two militia companies were training on the green, stood a brick school-

house, containing a large quantity of powder, which, probably set on fire by the wadding from one of the soldier's guns, exploded with terrific violence, and killed or wounded more than thirty of the surrounding people.

But if the joy of the Americans was great, its duration was not long. Expediency alone had induced Parliament to repeal the Stamp Act: its right to tax the colonies was still claimed. The Rockingham ministry being speedily overthrown, a new one was formed, prominent in which was the talented but changeable Charles Townshend. Though but a few months previous he had received from Massachusetts a special vote of thanks for having brilliantly advocated the annulment of the Stamp Act, Townshend brought forward, in January, 1767, a new bill to draw a revenue from the provinces by imposing duties on tea, paints, lead, and glass. In the following June, this scheme, professedly for the regulation of commerce, but in reality an insidious attempt to burden the colonies with taxation, was carried triumphantly through both houses of Parliament.

Immediately penetrating the covert design of Townshend's bill, the Americans stormily agitated its repeal. Petitions and remonstrances flowed in upon the ministry from all parts of the colonies. Non-importation agreements as to certain English goods, and plans for the encourage-

ment of home manufactures, adopted first in Massachusetts, speedily found numerous friends in the other provinces, and especially in Connecticut, where Fitch, who favoured the Tory or ministerial party, had been superseded by William Pitkin, an open advocate of the Whig or popular cause.

Alarmed at length by the storm they had evoked, the English ministry, in April, 1770, procured the repeal of all the duties imposed under the late act, with the exception of threepence a pound upon tea. Having thus gained a second partial triumph, the colonists, modifying their non-importation agreements so as to include tea only, for a time confined themselves chiefly to the consideration of minor questions of internal polity.

Unsubjected to the caprices of a royal governor, Connecticut, unlike her sister colonies, had been little agitated by political excitements, except they were such as sprung from the discussion of great national topics. Even with regard to these but an unimportant difference of opinion existed among the freemen, few of whom were not ardent Whigs and staunch friends of the rights of the provinces.

But shortly previous to the partial abrogation of Townshend's revenue bill, events occurred that caused no slight stir in the local politics of Connecticut, and led to a contest, not unattended

by bloodshed, between the inhabitants of two provinces which, at this particular juncture, should have been bound together by the strongest ties of amity.

In the spring of 1769 the Connecticut settlers of Wyoming returned to the lands from which they had been driven during the previous autumn. Unexpectedly, and greatly to their chagrin, they found them nearly occupied by a company of Pennsylvanians, to whom the proprietaries of Pennsylvania had granted the same territory. By this company a blockhouse had been built, and every preparation made to retain their occupancy.

Nevertheless, erecting a blockhouse of their own, the Connecticut people began to till anew their devastated fields. Hot disputes ensued; and, presently, one Aaron Ogden, at the head of two hundred Pennsylvanians, captured the eastern immigrants and obliged them to return to their former homes, stipulating, however, that their crops might be cared for by a few families whom he allowed to remain until fall. But, regardless of this stipulation, Ogden presently destroyed their cattle and harvests, and drove away the families that had been left to attend to them.

In February, 1770, Captain Lazarus Stewart, returning with a party of immigrants, took Ogden's blockhouse, which, being soon after recap-

tured, was again assailed by Stewart, and finally burned. Ogden himself was forced to leave the country, which, during the ensuing spring and summer, remained quietly in the possession of the Connecticut settlers.

At this juncture, the Pennsylvania proprietaries complained to Jonathan Trumbull, the newly-elected governor of Connecticut. He, however, declared that the province was not responsible for the acts of the emigrants.

In the autumn of 1770, Ogden suddenly appeared in the valley at the head of a hundred and fifty men, and took many of the Connecticut people prisoners, treating them, according to their own story, with great inhumanity. But the triumph of the Pennsylvanians was of brief duration. In December, Stewart returned with a force to which they were compelled to submit.

A reward was now offered by the governor of Pennsylvania for Stewart's capture. This a sheriff, assisted by Ogden and his men, undertook to accomplish. Assailing the Connecticut people's blockhouse, they forced it to surrender. But in the attack a brother of Ogden was slain, while Stewart, with most of the garrison, escaped during the night.

In July, Captain Zebulon Butler returned from Connecticut with seventy men, and began a regular siege of the new fort which the Pennsylvanians had just completed. As Butler was pro-

vided with cannon, Ogden found his position a critical one. Secretly escaping down the Susquehanna, he hastened to Philadelphia, where he procured a hundred soldiers, and marched them to the assistance of his beleaguered fortress. Warned of Ogden's advance, and at the same time learning that he had divided his force, Butler determined to attack him in detail. His plans were completely successful. One division was ambushed and put to flight; the other, having entered the fort, presently surrendered with its garrison.

For two years subsequent, the Connecticut claimants of Wyoming remained in quiet possession under a government of their own. In 1773, however, they applied to Connecticut to assume jurisdiction. Their claim being sustained by high legal authority, the assembly, after a vain attempt to procure an amicable arrangement with Pennsylvania, incorporated the Wyoming settlement as the town of Westmoreland, annexed it to Litchfield county, and admitted a representative from it into their body. This last proceeding seems to have met with earnest but unavailing opposition from a respectable party in Connecticut. For a while the discussion with regard to it raged warmly; but other and more momentous questions soon caused it to be forgotten.

CHAPTER XV.

Tax on tea rendered nugatory by non-importation agreements —Parliament attempts to force tea into America—Opposition of the colonies—Tea destroyed at Boston—Rage of the ministers—Port of Boston closed—National Congress of 1774 —Action of the Connecticut assembly—Battle of Lexington —Boston invested—Patriotism of Putnam—Arnold before Boston—Zeal of Governor Trumbull—Of the Connecticut assembly—Connecticut during the war—Allen and Arnold at the capture of Ticonderoga—Enterprise of Arnold—Complaints of his enemies—Throws up his commission—Putnam at the Battle of Bunker Hill—Washington commander-in-chief—Arnold's march through the wilderness to Quebec—Joins Montgomery—Assault on Quebec, and death of Montgomery—Arnold maintains the blockade of Quebec—Canada evacuated—Arnold the last to quit the enemy's shores.

MEANWHILE, by their non-importation and non-consumption agreements, the colonists had rendered the tax on tea almost nugatory as an assertion of parliamentary right. Finding that in consequence the East India Company's warehouses were full of the obnoxious commodity, the English ministry prepared to force a large quantity of it into the colonies, and thus relieve the company from its embarrassments, and establish by precedent the right of taxation claimed for Parliament. Having removed the existing duty on teas exported from England, they made arrangements with the East India Company to

send several cargoes of the "pernicious weed" to America, where, it was hoped, as the tax was now only such in name, a good market would be found for it.

But, in their opposition to the ministerial plans for drawing a revenue from them, the colonists were swayed by other and far higher than mercenary motives. The duty was now really nothing, but if they should once pay it there might be no end to the taxes which such a surrender of right, principle, and liberty, would authorize Parliament to levy. Declaring their abhorrence of the new ministerial scheme, as being an insulting attempt to bribe them into a compliance with their own political subjection, they at once prepared to give it the full and inflexible force of their opposition.

By the time the tea ships arrived, the whole country was in a ferment. At Charleston the tea was permitted to be stored, but not to be sold. The cargoes intended for New York and Philadelphia were sent back to England again. At Boston the public indignation was more violently evinced. On the evening of the 16th of December an assemblage of citizens, disguised as Indians, boarded three vessels containing tea, and threw their cargoes into the ocean.

By this decided action the object of the ministers was signally frustrated. Their rage was proportioned to the completeness of their defeat.

As Massachusetts and its chief city had led the opposition, bills were speedily adopted in Parliament, by which that colony's charter was virtually annulled, and the port of Boston closed, greatly to the subsequent suffering of its inhabitants.

These measures but provoked the colonies to sterner resistance. In New England every green became the training-ground of well-organized companies of "minute men." But, while the idea of an appeal to arms was thus encouraged, steps were taken to procure a more peaceable adjustment of difficulties. For this purpose a national Congress was called. Meeting, at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, this body, in which Connecticut was ably represented by Roger Sherman and Silas Dean, adopted a declaration of rights, a petition to the king, and addresses to the people of England and of Canada.

Having, on the 3d of November following, approved the proceedings of this Congress, and reappointed the former delegates, the Connecticut assembly ordered cannon to be mounted at New London, the militia to be trained frequently, and the towns to lay in a double supply of ammunition. At a special session in March, 1775, they commissioned David Wooster as a major-general, and Joseph Spencer and Israel Putnam as brigadiers. Fought but a few weeks after-

ward, on the 19th of April, the battle of Lexington unsheathed the sword and called the colonies to arms.

The intelligence of this affair, borne swiftly from town to town, within two days brought a provincial force of twenty thousand men to the siege of Boston. Prominent among the officers commanding was the still athletic figure of Putnam, who, though verging upon his sixtieth winter, had left his plough standing in the furrow, and, without even changing his clothes, hurried to the scene of hostilities. From New Haven came Benedict Arnold, at the head of sixty volunteers, whom his energy had called into the field.

Sharing the spirit of the aged Trumbull, whose patriotic zeal suffered no abatement during the long and wearisome War of Independence, the Connecticut assembly, in raising troops, providing for their support, and in sustaining the awakened energies of the people, displayed the most commendable promptitude and vigour. A week after the fight at Lexington they voted for six regiments of a thousand men each. To officer these, Putnam, Wooster, and Spencer were confirmed in their previous appointments, and Hinman, Parsons, and Waterbury received the remaining commands. Nor was it only in the first outbreak of resistance to the tyranny of an ignorant ministry that Connecticut exhibited

this spirit of promptness and energy. During the whole contest for independence she sent large and effective armies into the field. The seventh in population, as near as can be calculated, of the original thirteen colonies, she stood second to Massachusetts only in the number of her revolutionary troops, which amounted to nearly thirty thousand.

Scarcely had the battle of Lexington been fought, when a party of forty persons hastened from Connecticut to Vermont, where, at Castleton, in accordance with a previous arrangement, they met Colonel Ethan Allen, at the head of more than two hundred Green Mountain Boys. The object of this expedition was the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. Unexpectedly, and greatly to Allen's astonishment and indignation, just as the little band was about to start, Benedict Arnold, attended by a single servant, made his appearance and claimed command, on the strength of a colonel's commission from Massachusetts. A hot discussion ensued, and the expedition would have ended in nothing had not Arnold compromised by joining as a volunteer, with the rank of colonel, but without any authority.

At early dawn on the 10th of May, the two rival and ambitious colonels, marching abreast, Arnold on the left, entered Ticonderoga, at the head of their men, whose huzzas, as they formed

a hollow square inside the fort, were the first notices the garrison had of an enemy. The surprised commandant at once yielded to Allen's energetic demand to surrender "in the name of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress." The same day Crown Point surrendered unresistingly to a detachment led by Seth Warner, who, like Allen, a native of Connecticut, had been one of the early settlers of Vermont.

Joined by a few recruits, whose number soon swelled to a hundred and fifty, Arnold, on the strength of his Massachusetts commission, presently took command at Crown Point, as well as of a little fleet which his enterprise had won from the enemy. Bold, restless and untiring, he did much valuable service, not the least of which was the forwarding of cannon and mortars from Crown Point to the army besieging Boston.

But, overlooking his zeal, activity, and military skill, his enemies saw nothing in him but pride and presumption. Reiterated complaints with regard to these at length induced Massachusetts to send a committee to inquire into his conduct, to order his return if they thought proper, or, if he were allowed to remain, to render him subordinate to Hinman, who, with his Connecticut regiment, was to take command of the captured fortresses. Permitted to read the committee's instructions, Arnold at once disbanded his men, threw up his commission, and loudly

venting his just indignation, hurried to the camp before Boston.

Meantime a momentous battle had been fought at Bunker Hill, where, serving, according to some accounts, as a volunteer, or, as his biographer more than intimates, as commanding-officer of the field, Putnam had displayed his usual fearlessness and self-possession.

Two weeks subsequent to the battle of Bunker Hill, George Washington of Virginia, whom the third national Congress had just appointed commander-in-chief of the continental forces, joined the army before Boston, and entered immediately upon the active discharge of his duties. Putnam at the same time received from Congress a commission as major-general, while Wooster and Spencer were appointed brigadiers.

Threatened by an invasion from Canada, Congress determined to anticipate it by an attack upon Montreal and Quebec.

While the brave Montgomery, on his way to Quebec, was reducing St. John's and Montreal, Arnold, now commissioned as a continental colonel, was despatched through the wilderness of Maine to co-operate with him in capturing the Canadian capital. Guided by an Indian, and the imperfect journal of a British officer who had passed over the route some years before, he set out with eleven hundred men from Fort Western, on the Kennebec, late in September. The march

of six weeks that ensued was one of the most remarkable in the annals of warfare. Impetuous torrents were crossed, cataracts surmounted, craggy precipices scaled, the extremes of cold, hardship, toil and hunger, patiently endured. Though but few lives were lost, the expedition encountered delays, disasters, and disappointments sufficient to have chilled the ardour of any troops but such as Arnold had inspired with some portion of his own adventurous daring and determined desire to win success.

On the 27th of October the expedition, now reduced by desertion and sickness to less than eight hundred effective men, reached Sertigan, the first French settlement on the Chaudière River. Here Arnold exerted himself strenuously to procure provisions for his troops who, during the last few days, had greedily devoured the flesh of dogs, and the soup made out of moose-skin moccasins.

Ten days afterward, on the 9th of November, the army reached Point Levy, opposite to Quebec. Could Arnold have taken advantage of the surprise and consternation excited by his sudden appearance from the depths of an almost untrodden wilderness, the city might have been captured with slight difficulty. But the want of boats to cross the St. Lawrence caused a delay of several days. Meanwhile, recovering from their consternation, the garrison prepared for a

desperate defence. Still sanguine of success, Arnold, on the night of November the 14th, daringly crossed the river, and scaled the Heights of Abraham. The next morning his little army marched within eight hundred yards of the city wall, and gave three loud and enthusiastic cheers, "hoping to bring out the regulars to an open action on the plain."

Finding that the enemy could not be induced to meet him on fair ground, and having no means to conduct a regular siege, Arnold withdrew up the river to Point-aux-Trembles, where he met Montgomery, who took command.

The two divisions, numbering, all told, scarcely a thousand effective men, marched immediately to Quebec, which they invested in form. Failing to gain any advantage in a siege of three weeks, the two commanders, with a boldness verging upon desperation, resolved to hazard an assault. On the 31st of December this resolution was carried into effect. The result was a repulse, honourable indeed to the brave little army that suffered it, but rendered disastrous by the death of the gallant Montgomery, and the capture of Morgan and many of his Virginia rifles.

After Montgomery's death the command devolved upon Arnold, whose leg had been shattered in the assault. Still loath to quit an enterprise upon the success of which he had fixed his hopes, he withdrew three miles up the river, and, shel-

tering his men behind breastworks of frozen snow, doggedly maintained the blockade of Quebec till spring.

Renewed by Wooster in May, 1776, the siege of Quebec was finally abandoned. Affairs now assumed an aspect unfavourable to the Americans. Almost decimated by small-pox, greatly outnumbered by the enemy, and suffering reverse after reverse, the northern army, defeated but not disgraced, slowly and reluctantly retreated from the province it had so nearly won.

At St. John's, the last Canadian post to be evacuated, Arnold, who commanded the rear of the army, lingered "till he had seen every boat leave the shore but his own. He mounted his horse, and, attended by Wilkinson his aid-de-camp, rode back two miles, when they discovered the enemy's advanced division in full march. They gazed at it, or, in military phrase, reconnoitred it for a short time, and then hastened back to St. John's. A boat being in readiness to receive them, the horses were stripped and shot, the men ordered on board, and Arnold, refusing all assistance, pushed off the boat with his own hand; thus, says Wilkinson, 'indulging the vanity of being the last man who embarked from the shores of the enemy.' The sun was now down, and darkness followed, but the boat overtook the army in the night at Isle-au-Noix."

CHAPTER XVI.

Boston evacuated—Declaration of Independence—Battle of Brooklyn Heights—Nathan Hale—His patriotism—He is captured by the British—Is sentenced to death as a spy—Cruelty of his captors—His last words—New York captured—Death of Colonel Knowlton—Arnold on Lake Champlain—Charge of dishonesty preferred against him—Washington retreats across the Jerseys—Battles of Trenton and Princeton—Neglect of Arnold by Congress—Tryon's attack on Danbury—British assailed by the militia—Death of Wooster—Bravery of Arnold—Exploit of Colonel Meigs—Arnold appointed a major-general—Singular inconsistency of Congress—Arnold demands an investigation into his conduct—Favourable report of the Board of War—Action of Congress—Arnold tenders his resignation—At the recommendation of Washington is sent to the northern army—Battles of Behmus' Heights—Surrender of Burgoyne.

On the 26th of March, 1776, General Howe evacuated Boston with seven thousand British troops. By this time the desire of the American people to dissolve their political union with England had become evident. In Connecticut, the oath of allegiance to the king was dispensed with on the 6th of May. On the 17th of June, the assembly instructed its representatives in Congress "to give their assent to a declaration of independence." Pending the final action of Congress upon this subject, Howe, with the late garrison of Boston, landed on Staten Island, and

there awaited reinforcements, preparatory to an attack on New York. Six days afterward, on the 4th of July, the Declaration of Independence, as drafted by Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, was adopted by Congress, and signed, on behalf of Connecticut, by Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, and Oliver Wolcott.

After more than a month's delay, Howe, with a well-appointed army of twenty-four thousand regulars, advanced upon New York. To oppose him, Washington had a force somewhat superior in numbers but illy-equipped and undisciplined. On the 28th of August the battle of Brooklyn Heights was fought, in which the Americans, commanded by Putnam, met with a disastrous, but not dishonourable defeat. Two days subsequently, Long Island was abandoned to the enemy.

Having fixed his head-quarters at Morrisiana, Washington presently found it highly important that he should learn the strength and position of the enemy at Brooklyn. To Colonel Knowlton, commander of a Connecticut regiment, he intrusted the task of procuring a person of intelligence willing to risk the dangers of an attempt to obtain the desired information.

Among Knowlton's subordinate officers, to whom he disclosed the wishes of Washington, was Nathan Hale of New Haven, a young captain, with the academic honours of Yale College

yet fresh upon his brow. An enthusiast in the cause of liberty, the battle of Lexington had called him to the field, where his genius, talents, activity, and assiduous attention to discipline, were fast winning him an enviable reputation. Impelled solely by a desire to serve his country, young Hale made known to his superior his intention of undertaking the enterprise proposed by the commander-in-chief. In vain his friends endeavoured to dissuade him from an attempt which, if successful, would gain him neither glory nor pecuniary reward, and, if he should be detected in it, would inevitably hurry him to an ignominious end. Replying that "every kind of service necessary to the public good was honourable," he disguised himself and crossed over to Long Island.

As he was on the point of returning with the intelligence Washington required, Hale was unfortunately arrested. To Howe, before whom he was immediately taken, he frankly acknowledged the design of his visit to the camp. He was tried, found guilty, and in accordance with the laws of war, sentenced to be hanged the next morning as a spy.

"This sentence the prisoner was prepared to meet with a fortitude becoming his character. But the circumstances of his death aggravated his sufferings. The provost-martial, to whose charge he was consigned, was a refugee, and

treated him most unfeelingly, refusing the attendance of a clergyman and the use of a Bible, and destroying the letters he had written to his mother and friends.

"In the midst of these barbarities, Hale was calm, collected, firm—displaying to the last his native elevation of soul, dignity of deportment, and an undaunted courage. Alone, unfriended, without consolation or sympathy, he closed his mortal career, with the declaration, "that he only lamented he had but one life to lose for his country!"

Soon after this sad termination of young Hale's promising career, Howe effected a landing on York Island, three miles above the city. Panic-stricken, the militia stationed to oppose his debarkation, fled disgracefully, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of Washington and Putnam to rally them.

In a considerable skirmish the next day, the Americans, behaving with commendable gallantry, routed the enemy in a hand-to-hand encounter. But this momentary triumph, rendered a melancholy one by the death of Colonel Knowlton, though it wiped away the stain of the previous defeat, did not prevent Howe from taking possession of New York.

Meanwhile, the northern army, driven out of Canada, had abandoned Crown Point and fallen back upon Ticonderoga. In two successive naval

engagements, fought on the 6th and 7th of October, and which resulted in the American loss of Lake Champlain, Arnold, as commander of the continental fleet, had, by his heroism and skill, "covered himself with glory," and converted what were really disasters "into a species of triumph."

Even before this time, however, the defects of Arnold's character had begun to dim the brightness of his military reputation. His seizure of certain goods belonging to merchants of Montreal had already subjected him to a charge of dishonesty in the exercise of his public functions. Though the facts of this affair did not fully sustain the accusation, there were many who believed it true, from their own knowledge of Arnold's want of straightforwardness in his private dealings; while his challenge of the court-martial, individually and collectively, by which the charge was being examined, afforded very slight evidence of due reflection, proper self-respect, or genuine sensitiveness, on the part of the challenger.

The northern army, or what remained of it, was already quartered for the winter, when, having encountered disaster after disaster, Washington was finally driven, with "the phantom of an army," across the Jerseys to the western bank of the Delaware, opposite Trenton.

The cause of liberty now seemed lost. But, before the gloom created by the misfortunes of

the campaign could become settled, the victories of Trenton and Princeton, following each other in quick succession, gave new life and vigour to the hopes of the Americans. Having thus, in little more than a week, wholly neutralized the dispiriting effects of the previous successes of the enemy, Washington retired to winter-quarters at Morristown.

Previous to the opening of the campaign of 1777, Congress appointed five new major-generals, all the juniors of Arnold, over whom they were elevated. The avowed reason for this silent censure, or, at least, unjustifiable neglect of the most brilliant officer in the army, was that "the members from each state insisted upon having general officers proportioned to the number of troops furnished by it, and, as Connecticut had already two major-generals, there was no vacancy for another." "I confess," wrote Washington to the mortified and indignant Arnold, "this is a strange mode of reasoning, but it may show you that the promotion, which was due to your seniority, was not overlooked for want of merit in you."

Arnold, who knew that he had many enemies, would not rest satisfied with this explanation. He insisted that his character was at stake; and, notwithstanding the kindly-written advice of Washington, determined to proceed to headquarters, and personally solicit leave to visit

Philadelphia, to demand of Congress an investigation into his conduct.

About the time he departed from Rhode Island with this design, in April, 1777, Governor Tryon left New York, at the head of two thousand men, landed between Fairfield and Norwalk, and, unopposed, penetrated the country to Danbury, where he burned eighteen dwelling-houses, together with a large and valuable collection of public stores. In the mean time, Generals Wooster and Silliman had succeeded in collecting about six hundred of the Connecticut militia, when they were joined by Arnold, who volunteered to take part in their intended attack upon Tryon. The force was now divided. Wooster, with two hundred men, undertook to harass the British rear; while Arnold and Silliman, leading the other division, by a nearer route, were to cut off their retreat.

Quickly coming up with Tryon's rear-guard, Wooster, an old man of sixty-six winters, led a spirited attack. Few of his men had ever been in battle. Met by a brisk fire from the British artillery and musketry, they seemed ready to fly. At this moment, to encourage them, Wooster spurred forward his horse, and, waving his sword toward the enemy, called out, "Come on, my boys! never mind such random shot." Scarcely had the words left his lips, when, struck in the side by a musket-ball, he fell heavily to the

ground. His men then retreated to Danbury, where he died.

Meanwhile, Arnold had taken a strong position at Ridgefield, and thrown up a barricade of carts, logs, and earth, across the road by which the British were expected to pass. About three in the afternoon, Tryon's leading column made its appearance. A brisk engagement ensued. For nearly half an hour the Americans obstinately maintained their ground against a force of four to one. At length, finding both his flanks in danger of being turned, Arnold ordered a retreat, remaining himself alone upon the field. Climbing above the ridge of rocks which had protected the American left, a platoon of the enemy fired upon the solitary chief. His horse fell under him in the agonies of death. Cool, collected, watchful, Arnold sat upon his struggling steed, while one of the soldiers rushed forward to bayonet him. Waiting till his opponent was quite near him, he drew a pistol from his holsters, took deliberate aim and fired. As the soldier fell dead, Arnold sprang to his feet, and escaped unhurt to his troops. Rallying them, he continued to harass the British severely during their entire march to the sea-shore. Here he had a second horse shot, in a skirmish with the enemy previous to their embarkation. Tryon's loss during his retreat was one hundred

and seventy in killed and wounded, almost double that of the militia.

Retaliating Tryon's plundering expedition, Colonel Meigs, of Connecticut, left New Haven on the 21st of May, with two hundred men, in thirteen whale-boats, and, landing on the east end of Long Island, forced his way to Sag Harbour, burned thirteen of the enemy's vessels, took ninety prisoners, and returned to Guilford without losing a man. For his "prudence, activity, enterprise and valour," Meigs received a letter of approbation from Washington, and a sword from Congress.

Meanwhile Arnold's bravery in the attacks upon Tryon had extorted from Congress his appointment as a major-general. But, singularly enough, he was still left, by the date of his commission, below the major-generals who had been raised over him. Viewing his promotion, or the manner of it, as a species of degradation, he at once proceeded to Philadelphia, and demanded an investigation into his conduct. "I am exceedingly unhappy," so he wrote to Congress, "to find, that after having made every sacrifice to serve my country, I am publicly impeached of crimes which, if true, ought to subject me to disgrace, infamy, and the just resentment of my countrymen. Conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, however I may have erred in judgment, I must request the favour of Congress to

point out some mode by which my conduct and that of my accusers may be inquired into, and justice done to the innocent and injured."

Congress having referred this letter to the Board of War, that body, after examining numerous documents, relating chiefly to the Montreal affair, reported their entire satisfaction as to Arnold's character and conduct, which they declared "had been so cruelly and groundlessly aspersed." Agreeing to this report, Congress however said nothing about restoring Arnold to his relative rank. Their gift to him of a horse, fully caparisoned, did little to soften the chagrin and anger which he evidently felt.

Worried and disgusted at length by the inconsistency of Congress, Arnold tendered his resignation. On the very day that Arnold did this Congress received a letter from Washington, recommending him to be sent to the northern army, which, having evacuated Ticonderoga, was slowly retiring before a formidable British force under General Burgoyne. Flattered by the language in which his chief spoke of him, and "looking forward to a scene of action in which he always delighted," Arnold procured a suspension of his demand for leave to resign, and hastened to join the troops at Fort Edward, where he arrived late in July.

Following up the capture of Ticonderoga, Burgoyne pressed on triumphantly till the fatal de-

feat of Baum at Bennington, and the failure of St. Leger's enterprise against Fort Schuyler, began to turn the tide of British success and revive the hopes of the Americans. On the 19th of September was fought the first battle of Behmus' Heights, which being doubtful in its result was almost as disastrous to Burgoyne as a defeat.

For more than a fortnight subsequent to this affair, the two armies remained near each other without coming to a general engagement. In the mean time a sharp quarrel sprung up between Arnold and Gates, the commander of the American forces. Whether the presumption and hasty temper of Arnold, or the arrogance and envy of Gates were the causes of this dispute, is a matter of uncertainty. Its effect was to deprive Arnold of his command in the division.

"When the second battle of Behmus' Heights commenced, on the 7th of October"—we condense from Sparks—"Arnold was in a state of high excitement and apparent irritation. At length, without instructions or permission, he rode off in a full gallop to the field of battle. This being told to Gates, he sent Major Armstrong after him with orders. As soon as Arnold saw Armstrong, remembering, doubtless, a peremptory order to return while on his way out to the former action, he put spurs to his horse and quickened his speed. Armstrong pursued, with-

out being able to approach near enough to speak to him. And, in fact, Arnold received no orders during the day, but rode about the field in every direction, seeking the hottest parts of the action, and issuing his commands wherever he went.

"Being the highest officer in rank on the field, his orders were obeyed when practicable. All accounts agree that his conduct was rash. He threw himself heedlessly into the most exposed situations, brandishing his sword and animating the troops. But the brilliant manœuvre with which the engagement was closed, the assault of the enemy's works and driving the Hessians from their encampment, was undoubtedly owing to Arnold. He gave the order, and by his personal bravery set an example to the troops. He was shot through the leg while riding gallantly into the sally-port, and his horse fell dead under him. The success of the assault was complete, and crowned the day with victory."

Thus defeated, with his communications cut off, his provisions and supplies failing, and his troops fast deserting him, Burgoyne, on the 17th of October, reluctantly surrendered to Gates.

CHAPTER XVII.

Effect of Burgoyne's surrender—Arnold raised to his full rank—Lord North's conciliatory bills—Alliance with France—Battle of Monmouth—Massacre of Wyoming—Close of the campaign—Mutiny at Danbury—Putnam's address to the troops—Its good effect—Tryon at Horseneck—Perilous feat of Putnam—British operations in the south—Movements of Clinton—Tryon's attack on New Haven—Murder of inhabitants—Patriotism of Rev. Mr. Dagget—Burning of Fairfield and Norwalk—Stony Point retaken by Wayne—Sullivan's expedition against the Indians.

BURGOYNE'S capture, the tidings of which were received with the utmost joy by the American people, shed a brilliant lustre over a campaign that otherwise would have closed in the deepest gloom. Defeated on the Brandywine, forced to abandon Philadelphia, and repulsed in an attack upon the British at Germantown, Washington retired into winter quarters at Valley Forge.

The wild, impetuous, and perhaps rash, but still successful daring displayed by Arnold in the second battle of Behmus' Heights, whether it sprung from the use of stimulants—as has been harshly intimated—or from the desperate workings of his wounded pride, nevertheless resulted most fortunately for himself. His military

glory was enhanced; his popularity increased; and Congress was compelled to concede to him the full rank he had hitherto so unavailingly demanded.

In England, the intelligence of Burgoyne's surrender created a great sensation, and materially changed the course of the ministry. Bills were presently introduced into Parliament by Lord North, virtually relinquishing the original ground of dispute, and appointing commissioners with full authority to treat for the return of the Americans to their allegiance.

But North's "conciliatory" bills, by affording evidence that England was growing tired of the contest, only strengthened the determination of the revolted colonies to win their entire independence. Nor was this all that they effected. On learning the probability of their being sanctioned by Parliament, France acceded to the long-pending proposition of the American commissioners at Paris, and immediately arranged with the United States an offensive and defensive alliance against Great Britain. The motives of the French Government in forming this alliance may not have been the most disinterested; but, adding greatly to the already rising hopes of the colonists, proved in the end of signal advantage to them.

Informed that a French fleet was on its way to North America, Sir Henry Clinton, the successor

of Howe, apprehensive of the Delaware's being blockaded, evacuated Philadelphia with all his forces on the 18th of June, 1778. Retreating across the Jerseys, he was pursued by Washington, who came up with him at Monmouth, on the morning of the 28th. A spirited but indecisive action ensued, and lasted until night; under cover of which Clinton made good his retreat to Sandy Hook, whence he soon afterward embarked, without further molestation, for the city of New York.

A few days subsequent to the battle of Monmouth, a severe and devastating blow fell upon the settlements at Wyoming, the jurisdiction of which was yet claimed by Pennsylvania and exercised by Connecticut.

At the opening of the Revolution, the Connecticut settlers of Wyoming eagerly embraced the cause of independence. Numbering scarcely twenty-five hundred, they had contributed no less than two full companies to the continentals under Washington. For the defence of the valley, in the spring of 1778, when already the settlers' "pathways were ambushed, and midnight was often red with the conflagrations of their dwellings," there remained only a few militia, and a newly-enlisted company of continentals, all poorly provided with arms and ammunition. These troops, about five hundred in number, not only garrisoned six or seven rude

stockades, dignified by the name of forts, but tilled the fields, and acted as scouts for the alarmed settlements.

Such was the condition of Wyoming when, on the 2d of July, Colonel John Butler, at the head of eleven hundred Seneca Indians and Tory rangers, entered the valley, took quiet possession of Wintermoot, its uppermost fort. Hastily assembling at Forty Fort, some two miles above Wilkesbarre, the settlers marched out, four hundred strong, to give the invaders battle. In the afternoon of July the 3d, the two forces met. Fighting bravely and well, the little band of Connecticut men at first hoped for victory. But, pressed by overwhelming numbers, they were at length thrown into inextricable confusion. The flight that ensued changed to a fearful scene of slaughter. Many of the fugitives fell at once beneath the murderous tomahawk; many were taken captive, and at nightfall put to death with horrible torments; a few escaped to Fort Wyoming, already crowded with terrified women and children.

The following morning this last defence of the colony was invested. No terms would at first be listened to by the enemy but the unconditional surrender to the savages of fifteen continentals, who had survived the slaughter of the evening before. That night, however, these fifteen effected their escape down the river; whereupon Butler

consented to receive the surrender of the fort on favourable terms, stipulating that the settlers should be secured in the possession of their lives and property. This stipulation he seems to have been desirous of fulfilling; but his Indian allies, incited by a few Tory renegades from the valley, at once spread themselves through the settlement, burned the houses, desolated the fields, and murdered every inhabitant that ventured to resist. The wretched remnant of the settlers, mostly women and children, fled eighty miles through the dismal mountain wilderness to Stroudsburg, the nearest military station. In one of the frightened, half-famished flocks that on this occasion crossed the Swamp of Pokono—or the "Shades of Death," as it has ever since been called—there were no less than a hundred women and children, with but one man for their guide and protector.

Though Wyoming was presently reoccupied by a considerable continental force, it was long before it recovered entirely from the effects of an invasion in which nearly three hundred of its male inhabitants perished within a few days. Nor were the barbarities of the invaders soon forgotten. Exaggerated as they undoubtedly were by the panic-stricken survivors of the "massacre," they were still horrible enough, and at once excited for the colonists the profound sympathies of a growing party in England, and aroused the

stern and determined indignation of the American people.

Two days subsequent to the attack on Fort Wyoming, the Count D'Estaing arrived off the Delaware with a French fleet, having on board four thousand troops. Desirous of deriving some advantage from this opportune arrival, Washington planned, conjointly with the French commander, an assault upon New York. Compelled to abandon this project, he then determined to attempt the reduction of Newport, in Rhode Island, which had been held by the British for more than a year. General Sullivan, with five thousand continentals, and an equal number of Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts militia, was ordered to co-operate with D'Estaing on this service; but the latter, being led away by the hope of engaging the English fleet, Sullivan was compelled to forego all the advantages he had gained, abandon his position before Newport, and retreat precipitately from the island.

In the mean time D'Estaing had been foiled in his attempt to engage the English squadron, and, with many vessels seriously damaged by a furious tempest, was forced to take shelter in Boston harbour.

With the failure of this project the northern campaign virtually closed. After a series of unimportant skirmishes, the American army was

quartered for the winter in a line of cantonments extending from Elizabethtown, in New Jersey, to Danbury, in Connecticut.

During the winter, the troops at Danbury, composed chiefly of two Connecticut brigades under Putnam, were led, by their sufferings for the want of many necessaries, to enter into an agreement to proceed in a body to Hartford, and demand immediate relief from the assembly then in session. The mutiny was already ripe, and one brigade under arms, preparatory to marching off, when Putnam received the first intimation of it. Hurriedly mounting his horse, he galloped to where the men were drawn up, under the command of their sergeants. Received with the usual military salute of presented arms, Putnam, riding along the line, thus addressed the revolters briefly, and with the plain frankness of a farmer-soldier:—

"My brave lads, where are you going? Do you intend to desert your officers, and invite the enemy into the country? In whose cause have you been fighting and suffering so long? Is it not your own? Have you no property—no parents—no wives—no children? So far you have behaved like men. All the world is full of your praises. Posterity will stand astonished at your deeds; but not if you spoil all at last. Let us stand by one another then, and fight it out like brave soldiers. Think what a shame it would

be for Connecticut men to run away from their officers."

Remaining perfectly silent, the troops immediately, at the word, shouldered arms, marched to their respective parades, stacked their muskets, and returned cheerfully to their customary duties.

A short time after this affair, on the 25th of February, 1779, a considerable body of the enemy, under General Tryon, sallied out of New York, to surprise the American troops at Horseneck, and destroy the saltworks there. Informed of Tryon's approach, Putnam, who happened to be in the neighbourhood, procured a few old field-pieces, and, with sixty men, prepared to give the invaders a warm reception. After a brief but spirited conflict, Putnam saw that Tryon's numerical superiority would soon enable him to outflank the position of the patriots, and gain a deep ravine in the rear. Following the directions of their leader, the little band effected a safe retreat to a hill beyond the enemy's reach. Putnam himself galloped off toward Stamford, to procure fresh troops. He was pursued; the road in advance of him was in the possession of the British. Seizing the only chance of escape that offered, Putnam spurred his horse to the edge of the ravine that had protected his rear, and dashed boldly down the steep and rugged descent. Pressing him close,

his astonished pursuers, reined up with strong hands as they reached the brink of the precipice, and there watched the gray-haired fugitive accomplish his hazardous ride in safety. None dared to follow. Before they could gain the valley by an easier route, Putnam was far on his way to Stamford. At that place he found a few militia assembled. Adding these to his former band, he started off in pursuit of the now retreating Tryon; and, though his force was still greatly inferior to that of the enemy, he captured two of their wagons, and took fifty of the party prisoners.

Meanwhile, the British had been carrying on a vigorous campaign in the south. Savannah, and with it the greater part of Georgia, had already fallen into their hands.

Northward, Sir Henry Clinton opened the season of warlike operations in person, by ascending the Hudson and capturing the American forts at Verplank's and Stony Point. Upon the loss of these important works, Washington withdrew to the fastnesses of the Highlands; to induce him to leave which, Clinton, early in July, despatched a plundering expedition under Tryon against Connecticut.

Appearing off New Haven harbour, about sunrise of July 5th, Tryon immediately landed three thousand men. But though while disembarking the British met with no opposition, their march

to the town was sternly resisted by the few militia that hastily assembled. This resistance, however, they speedily overthrew. The town once in their possession, they burned a number of private edifices, and wantonly destroyed much valuable property, in addition to that which they afterward carried away.

But these were not the most culpable of their outrages. Several of the unresisting inhabitants —one an old and helpless man—were murdered in cold blood. A wretched lunatic, having been first severely beaten, had his tongue cut out, and was finally put to death. The intercession of a Tory, formerly his pupil, alone saved the Rev. Dr. Dagget, the President of Yale College, from being slain. He, however, had been captured fighting in the ranks of the militia. On being asked whether, if set at liberty, he would again take up arms, the patriotic clergyman naively replied, "I rather believe I shall, if I have an opportunity." After having insulted, beaten, and finally stabbed him, though not dangerously, his brutal captors were persuaded to let him go.

The militia beginning to assemble, Tryon re-embarked his troops, and set sail for Fairfield. On the morning of the 8th he landed at Kensie's Point, not unopposed by the neighbouring farmers and fishermen, and presently entered the almost deserted town. Many females, among others the amiable and refined wife of Sheriff

Burr, endeavoured to prevail upon Tryon to save the town from the ravages of his Hessians and Tory followers. But their appeals were urged in vain. Having plundered the inhabitants of a large amount of property, the British set the village in flames, and hastened to their shipping. Of one hundred and seventy-three buildings, including two churches, and eighty-five dwelling-houses, they left nothing but the blackened and smoking ruins.

Norwalk was the next point assailed by the marauders. Landing on the coast at no great distance from that town, Tryon was met and momentarily checked by a small body of continentals and militia, commanded by Captain Stephen Betts. Putting this little band to speedy flight, he entered Norwalk without further opposition. Having first been plundered, this thriving village shared the fate of Fairfield. Six houses only escaped. Among the buildings destroyed were two churches.

Acknowledging a loss in these incursions of twenty killed, ninety-six wounded, and thirty-two missing, Tryon sailed to Sag Harbour, on Long Island. Here he was preparing for a descent on New London, when recalled to New York by the unexpected intelligence that Wayne had stormed and carried the lately-captured fortress of Stony Point.

While these events were transpiring, a formid-

able expedition had been set on foot against the Senecas and other Indian tribes of New York in alliance with the English, to avenge upon them the barbarities they had committed during the previous summer, in their attacks on Wyoming and other frontier settlements. Leaving Tioga on the 26th of August, under the command of General Sullivan, the expedition burned the Indian towns on the Chemung, defeated a large force of Tories and savages under Butler and Brant, laid waste the valley of the Gennessee, and finally compelling the offending tribes, together with the refugees they had sheltered, to seek a place of safety and of succour from absolute want in the immediate vicinity of the English post at Niagara. The punishment thus inflicted on the savages was a severe one, and they never wholly recovered from the effects of it.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Campaign of 1780—South Carolina invaded—Fall of Charleston—Defeat of Gates—Gloomy aspect of affairs—Arnold at Philadelphia—His quarrel with the Pennsylvania authorities—Tried by court-martial—Sentenced to a reprimand from the commander-in-chief—Washington's reprimand—Mortification of Arnold—His extravagance—Its result—Treason of Arnold—Execution of André—Arnold in Virginia—Campaign of 1781—Greene in South Carolina—Cornwallis concentrates his troops at Yorktown—Arnold's attack on New London—Massacre of the garrison of Fort Griswold—New London burned—Surrender of Cornwallis—Subsequent life of Arnold—His death at London.

ABANDONING Newport and the forts on the Hudson, the British gave up all present hope of subjugating the northern colonies. Leaving Knyphausen in command at New York, Sir Henry Clinton sailed with seven thousand troops to invade South Carolina. On the 7th of April, 1780, he appeared before Charleston, the garrison of which, after gallantly sustaining a siege of more than a month's duration, reluctantly surrendered as prisoners of war. By the middle of June, all South Carolina was in the possession of the British. Leaving Cornwallis to maintain and enlarge his conquest, Clinton presently returned to New York.

To recapture this important province, Gates

was immediately despatched southward with a large army; but, met by Cornwallis on the 16th of August, at Camden, he suffered a most disastrous defeat.

At the north, the aspect of affairs afforded scarcely any ground for cheerful hope. Frustrated in various attempts to co-operate with a French fleet and army which arrived at Newport early in July, Washington could not contemplate the condition of things without a feeling of anxiety verging upon alarm. Adding still more to his grief at the gloomy prospect of his country, there now came to light a traitorous and dangerous plot, planned, and wellnigh executed, by an officer upon whom, notwithstanding his evident lack of moral principle, the commander-in-chief strongly relied, as being second to few in the army for personal bravery, military skill, and the brilliancy and worth of his previous services.

Shortly after the evacuation of Philadelphia by Clinton, Arnold, whose wounds disqualified him for active service, was placed in command at that city. Here he soon entangled himself in a quarrel with the governor and council of Pennsylvania, who publicly censured his conduct as being "in many respects oppressive, unworthy of his rank and station, discouraging to those who had manifested an attachment to the liberties of America, and disrespectful to the state."

Finally, after a series of disputes, Arnold was summoned before a court-martial, to answer four several charges, partly of a criminal nature, preferred by the civil authorities of Pennsylvania. His defence was artful and elaborate, though somewhat vainglorious in its tone. With sentiments of the most ardent patriotism it was full to redundancy; and none who heard it could have supposed that its author had been for eight months in secret correspondence with the enemy. But with all its injudicious boasting and wordy patriotism, the defence of Arnold completely disproved the two most serious charges, and he was acquitted of them. Found guilty on the two remaining counts, of irregular, imprudent, and improper conduct, he was sentenced to be reprimanded by the commander-in-chief. This duty Washington performed with the utmost delicacy. "I reprimand you,"—so he addressed Arnold—"for having forgotten that, in proportion as you had rendered yourself formidable to our enemies you should have shown moderation toward our citizens. Exhibit again those splendid qualities which have placed you in the rank of our most distinguished generals. As far as it shall be in my power, I will myself furnish you with opportunities for regaining the esteem which you have formerly enjoyed."

Notwithstanding the soothing terms of this reprimand, Arnold's vanity was deeply wounded,

and he began to look around for some way to revenge himself. Before he could fix upon any definite plan, circumstances occurred which filled the cup of his mortification to overflowing.

Living at Philadelphia in an extravagant style, utterly beyond his means, Arnold had involved himself in debt and difficulties, from which he struggled to extricate himself by engaging in commercial and other speculations, not decidedly wrong, perhaps, but in many instances depending for their success upon the discreditable arts of the unscrupulous trader. His losses, however, overbalanced his gains. Becoming more and more embarrassed, he repetitioned Congress to allow his entire claims for moneys expended by him during the Canada expedition. A committee of that body reported that he had been already overpaid.

Disappointed, mortified, and needy, Arnold applied to M. de la Luzerne, the French minister, for a loan, intimating that it would be for the interest of the French king to secure his grateful attachment. Pained to find an officer, whose military qualities he admired, degrading himself so far as to solicit a bribe, Luzerne refused to give the money, but proffered his impatient listener much excellent advice. Abashed and indignant, Arnold hurried away, fixed in the determination to betray his country. Easily obtaining from Washington the command at

West Point, he made a direct offer to Clinton, through Major André of the British army, with whom, under an assumed name, he had long corresponded, to surrender himself and the highly important post intrusted to him, in such a manner as would be of great advantage to the cause of Great Britain.

An interview between Arnold and some trustworthy British agent being necessary to complete the traitorous plot, André reluctantly volunteered to ascend the Hudson for that purpose in the Vulture sloop-of-war. Notwithstanding many obstacles, the desired interview took place at night in a thick wood on the river shore. Morning broke before the conspirators had arranged their plan of action. André was induced to enter within the American lines, where, concealed during the day, he and Arnold completed their arrangements. Unable to return on board the Vulture, André, provided with a pass and guide by Arnold, assumed a citizen's dress, and at dusk set off on horseback down the river to New York.

The next morning, having parted with his guide, he was stopped, while crossing a small brook half a mile north of Tarrytown, by three volunteer scouts; deceived by whose replies, instead of producing Arnold's passport, he avowed himself to be a British officer, travelling on particular business. Ordered to dismount, André

too late discovered his error, and vainly endeavoured to purchase his liberty. Having stripped him, and found suspicious papers concealed in his stockings, his captors carried him before Colonel Jamison, the American commandant at North Castle. Examining the papers, which contained a full description of West Point and a return of its forces, Jamison recognised the handwriting of Arnold; but having no suspicion of his superior's fidelity, he penned a hasty note to Arnold, informing him of André's capture, and that several papers of a very dangerous tendency, found upon his person, had been forwarded to Washington, then returning to West Point from Hartford.

When Arnold received this letter, he was breakfasting with his family and two aids-de-camp of Washington, who had not yet arrived. What his feelings were on reading it can only be imagined; for, with the exception of a slight momentary agitation, his deportment was cool and collected. Rising from the table, he pleaded pressing business for leaving so abruptly, ordered his horse to the door, and called his wife up stairs. In a few brief sentences he informed her that they must part, perhaps for ever, and that his life depended on his escape to the enemy. Leaving her in a swoon, he hurriedly mounted his horse, galloped to the river side, sprang into his barge, and ordered the oarsmen to pull with

all speed down the stream. As they approached King's Ferry, he displayed a white handkerchief, as the signal of a flag-boat, and thus passed the American forts without molestation. The Vulture was now in sight, awaiting the return of André. Safe on board this vessel, Arnold despatched a letter to Washington, soliciting protection for his wife, who, he wrote, was "as good and as innocent as an angel, and incapable of doing wrong."

For the fate of André, the youthful, ingenuous, and accomplished partner of Arnold in his abortive plot, the profoundest pity was expressed, even by those whose cause he sought to ruin. Tried by a court-matial, his own frank relation of the part he took in the recent transaction procured his conviction as a spy; and, as such, notwithstanding the untiring efforts of Clinton to save him, and the threats of Arnold to avenge his execution with fire and slaughter, he was hanged at Tappan, on the 2d of October.

Rewarded with a gratuity of six thousand pounds and a commission as brigadier-general in the British army, Arnold was despatched in December, with sixteen hundred troops, on a plundering expedition into Virginia. Robberies and conflagrations, and the wanton destruction of private property, everywhere attended his steps. On one occasion an American captain of militia was taken prisoner. Curious to know

the feelings of his countrymen with regard to him, Arnold asked this officer what he thought the Americans would do with him if he should ever be captured by them. "They will cut off the leg," he responded, "which was wounded when you were fighting for the cause of liberty, and bury it with the honours of war, and hang the rest of your body on a gibbet."

After remaining in Virginia nearly four months, during which time several unsuccessful attempts were made to capture him, Arnold returned to New York in April, 1781.

Meanwhile, farther south, the belligerent forces had been actively engaged from an early period in the year. Here it is unnecessary perhaps to relate in detail the various events of the campaign. Suffice it to say that Greene, the successor of Gates, after experiencing various reverses and triumphs, at length succeeded in freeing the greater part of South Carolina from the enemy's presence; while Cornwallis, his opponent, forcing his way northward, finally, in obedience to the directions of Clinton, concentrated his army, eight thousand strong, in a favourable position on the peninsulas of York and Gloucester in Virginia.

Washington in the mean time had planned an attack on New York, in conjunction with the French troops still at Newport. But a large fleet arriving in the Chesapeake from France,

he at once quietly directed his operations to the investment of Cornwallis.

Penetrating Washington's design, Clinton endeavoured to interrupt it by a diversion at the north. With this view, early in September he despatched Arnold, with an adequate force, to destroy New London, where public stores and private property to a large amount were collected. Crossing from Long Island, Arnold landed his troops in two divisions at the entrance to the harbour.

On the eastern side of New London harbour there rises a lofty and precipitous hill. On the summit of this eminence was Fort Griswold. Illy adapted to repel a land attack, it was garrisoned by but one hundred and eighty men, under the command of Colonel Ledyard. Against this work one division of the enemy marched, while the other, led by Arnold, proceeded to New London. After a brief but sanguinary conflict, in which the assailants lost two hundred of their number, Fort Griswold was carried at the point of the bayonet. When all resistance had ceased, the leader of the British inquired, "Who commands this fort?" Advancing and presenting his sword, "I did," replied Ledyard, "but you do now." Seizing the proffered weapon, Ledyard's brutal captor immediately plunged it into his breast. Incited by the example of their commander, the British soldiers fell upon the

defenceless and unresisting garrison, and slew sixty of them in cold blood. Of the wounded Americans, many were thrown into a cart, which was then turned loose down the hill. Near the bottom it ran against a tree. By the violence of the shock, several of the wretched inmates were killed, while painful bruises and contusions were superadded to the wounds of all. After this exploit, the victors, having laid a train of powder from the magazine to the gate of the fort, fired it, and retreated hastily to their shipping. But the looked-for explosion did not follow. One of the garrison, who had received a mortal wound, having witnessed the laying of the train, exerted his expiring strength to crawl to it. Throwing his body across it, he steeped the powder in his life-blood, thus preserving many of his more fortunate comrades, whose wounds were slighter than his own.

Proceeding meanwhile to New London, Arnold had laid that flourishing town in ashes. "It has been said," writes his historian, Sparks, "that Arnold, while New London was in flames, stood in the belfry of a steeple, and witnessed the conflagration. And what adds to the enormity is, that he was almost in sight of the spot where he drew his first breath; that every object around was associated with the years of his childhood and youth, and revived those images of the past which kindle emotions of tenderness in all but

hearts of stone; that many of the dying, whose groans assailed his ears, and of the living, whose houses and effects he saw devoured by the flames, were his early friends, the friends of his father, his mother, his family."

Toward evening the neighbouring militia began to assemble in force. Knowing their spirit, Arnold did not venture to await an attack from them; but, gathering up what valuables he could, withdrew precipitately to the landing-place, and re-embarked for New York.

The burning of New London was the last exploit of Arnold in the country of his birth. Apparently unheeding it, Washington steadily continued his operations against Cornwallis, who was finally compelled to surrender to the allied forces of America and France, at Yorktown, on the 17th of October.

Foreseeing that the war was about to close, Arnold, having obtained leave from Clinton, sailed in the following December for England. His subsequent life, though prolonged a score of years, was one marked by little worthy of notice. Almost all that we know of it is, that he entered largely into commercial speculations, and grew rich, but not less offensively ostentatious and overbearing in his general deportment, nor more honest and upright in his business transactions. Treated with uniform contempt by such of his countrymen as came into contact

with him, and frequently slighted and insulted by the officers of that nation which had sought to profit by his defection, he resided at London for several years, and there died, on the 14th of June, 1801, in the sixty-second year of his age.

CHAPTER XIX.

Negotiations for peace—Settlement of the jurisdiction dispute between Connecticut and Pennsylvania—Dissatisfaction of the Wyoming colonists—Peace—Condition of the country—Slavery abolished in Connecticut—Griswold and Huntingdon governors—Cession of public lands—Connecticut reserve sold—Permanent common-school fund established—Proposed federal impost—New York refuses to sanction it—National convention recommended—Meeting of the convention—Character of the delegates—Roger Sherman—Proceedings of the convention—Struggle between the larger and smaller states—Sherman procures a committee of conference—Franklin's proposition—Northern and southern parties—Connecticut delegates act as compromisers—New difficulties between the north and south—Third great compromise of the constitution—Constitution signed—Gloomy presentiments.

THE capture of Cornwallis was the last important conflict of the Revolution. Though in certain sections of the country a few partisan corps continued for some time to wage a desultory warfare, the prospect of a favourable peace grew subsequently every day brighter and more dis-

tinct. At length, during the summer of 1782, negotiations were entered into by the American and English commissioners, with a view to the final adjustment of difficulties.

While these negotiations were pending, the dispute which had so long existed between Connecticut and Pennsylvania as to the jurisdiction of the Wyoming Valley, was referred to a federal court, composed of five commissioners, who met at Trenton, in New Jersey, in November, 1782. After a five weeks' careful examination of the arguments of both the interested parties, the court decided in favour of Pennsylvania. Presently confirmed by Congress, this decision was cheerfully acquiesced in by Connecticut. So far as it concerned that state, the controversy was now settled. But the subsequent claim of Pennsylvania to the ownership as well as to the jurisdiction of the Wyoming territory, excited general dissatisfaction among the Connecticut immigrants, and was sternly resisted, even to the shedding of blood. Many years of expensive litigation followed; and it was not until time had considerably modified the sectional feelings with which the dispute was originally imbittered, that a satisfactory settlement of it was at length obtained.

On the 3d of September, 1783, the entire independence of the confederated states of North America was finally secured by the ratification

of definitive treaties between France, England, and America.

Peace, that was thus guaranteed, found the disenthralled colonies labouring under a heavy load of debt. Nor was this the only evil with which they were soon to contend. There were reflecting persons who foresaw that a brief period only could elapse before perplexing questions of state and national policy would of necessity arise and agitate deeply, if not fatally, the union of young republics. Yet, in the first outburst of rejoicing created by the tidings of peace, and the recognition of our political independence, these forebodings, based upon an intelligent observation of the embarrassed condition of the country, were confined to the breasts of a few.

One of the earliest steps of Connecticut after the termination of the war, was to enact a law prohibiting the further importation of slaves, and declaring that all persons thereafter born within her limits should be free. The same year —1784, the aged and patriotic Trumbull was succeeded as governor by Matthew Griswold, who, in 1785, was replaced by Samuel Huntingdon, for the next eleven years the chief executive of the state.

By this time the embarrassments of the confederacy, and the incompleteness of the fundamental articles of the federal union, were becoming painfully evident. Already measures had

been adopted to free the nation from debt; prominent among which was the cession to the general government by the states of their respective shares of vacant lands in the West. Difficulties were at first experienced in obtaining the consent of the states to such a relinquishment; but, incited by the magnanimity of Virginia, the rest at length assented to the measure. Connecticut, the last to adopt it, insisted upon retaining certain lands, in what is now a portion of the State of Ohio. Hesitating a little, Congress, at length, in 1786, consented to accept the cession of Connecticut, notwithstanding the reservation which she claimed.

The lands thus secured to the state, under the title of the "Connecticut Reserve," were presently sold, jurisdiction and all, to a company of speculators, for the sum of one million two hundred thousand dollars. Previously, however, five thousand acres had been granted to such persons as had suffered from the depredations of the British during the War of Independence. The proceeds of the sale, after some discussion, were appropriated to the establishment of a permanent common-school fund.

As another means of reducing the burden of public debt, Congress proposed that the several states should confer upon it the privilege of laying a moderate impost duty on certain articles. The consent of all the states being necessary to

sanction this desirable measure, it was defeated by the non-concurrence of New York alone. Much ill-feeling of a sectional character was excited in consequence; which, together with violent outbreaks in Massachusetts, and a growing disposition to favour the idea of a division of the confederacy into two or three independent commonwealths, at length rendered it plain to the mass of the community that some modification, or complete reorganization, of the federal compact was absolutely necessary.

With this object in view, commissioners from six states assembled at Annapolis, Maryland, in September, 1786; but having no competent authority to act as the emergency required, after recommending a convention of delegates from all the states to meet at Philadelphia in the following May, they resolved to adjourn.

After some hesitation, this recommendation was approved and sanctioned by Congress, and eleven states appointed delegates to the convention. Organizing on the 25th of May, 1787, the convention elected Washington president, and commenced its proceedings with closed doors and an injunction of secrecy on the debates.

Fifty delegates were present—all men of tried patriotism, and eminent for abilities, experience, and character. From Connecticut came the venerable Roger Sherman, Oliver Ellsworth, and William S. Johnson; the former of whom, origi-

nally a poor shoemaker, had worked his way to distinction as a lawyer and legislator, and acquired an extensive reputation for sound judgment and practical knowledge.

After some debate as to the powers of the convention, two questions arose in relation to the ratio of representation and the rule of voting in the national legislature. By the existing articles of confederation each state was allowed one vote in Congress, and no more. This equality the smaller states desired to maintain. The larger ones, on the contrary, were determined to obtain that legislative preponderance to which the numerical superiority of their inhabitants was thought to entitle them. The subject having been warmly discussed, the rule of representation by population was at length carried against the small states, Connecticut included, by the slender majority of one.

The mode of electing the members of the first branch of the national legislature was next considered. It was proposed that it should be by popular vote. To this proposition Sherman objected. The late outbreaks in Massachusetts, probably, prompted him to declare that "the less the people had to do immediately with the government the better." Madison, of Virginia, and others, replied, "that no republican government could stand without popular confidence, which could only be secured by giving the peo-

ple one branch of the legislature." On the question being put, the election by the people was carried; two states only against it, and two —Connecticut and Delaware—divided.

How senators should be elected was the next question. Insisting upon their being chosen by the local legislatures, the smaller states, after some discussion, gained their point; but the proposal, by them deemed vitally important, for an equality of representation in the senate, was voted down.

It having been decided—Connecticut voting affirmatively—that the chief executive should consist of one person, the question arose as to the mode of that individual's election. Wilson of Virginia hesitatingly proposed that it should be by the people. Sherman suggested, by the national legislature. Wilson then proposed a college of electors, chosen by the popular vote. Finally, however, Sherman's plan was adopted. In fixing the term of office, Sherman advocated three years, with the privilege of re-election. Mason, of Virginia, suggested seven years and no re-election, which was at length carried, Connecticut voting with the minority.

Having been otherwise slightly modified, the Virginia Plan, as it was called, was reported back to the house.

Meanwhile, the smaller states had matured a counter scheme, known as the Jersey or State

Rights' Plan, which was now brought forward by Patterson, of New Jersey. This, and the one just reported, were referred to a new committee of the whole, by which the entire question was again considered.

After an exciting debate, in which the Connecticut delegates took part as peacemakers, Paterson's scheme was thrown out and the Virginia plan again reported to the house.

The discussion now grew alarmingly stormy. Failing to obtain equality of representation in the lower branch of Congress, the State Rights' members demanded it in the senate. Ellsworth's proposal to concede it to them, as a fair compromise between the large and small states, having been lost by a tie vote, the dissatisfaction of the losing party rose so high that an angry dissolution of the convention seemed inevitable. At this juncture, on motion by Sherman, a committee of conference was appointed, consisting of one member from each state.

In this committee, Franklin proposed that, while in the senate the states should be equally represented, in the lower branch there should be one representative for every forty thousand persons. Reluctantly acquiesced in by the members from the larger states, this proposition was reported to the convention. A triumph to the State Rights' men, and a mortification to their more zealous opponents, it gave rise to a warm

debate, which however was momentarily quieted by the consideration of another question relative to the rule of apportionment.

In the protracted and exciting debate that now arose, the existence of a northern and a southern party was developed, the questions at issue being, Whether there should be a slave representation? and, if so, How should it be apportioned? Motions were made and voted down to count blacks equally with whites, and to reckon, in a periodical census, by which future apportionments should be regulated, the whole number of freemen and three-fifths of all others.

Davie, of North Carolina, now rose and declared, "it was time to speak out. He was sure North Carolina would never confederate on any terms that did not rate the blacks at least as three-fifths. If the eastern states meant to exclude them altogether, the business was at an end."

Hereupon the Connecticut delegates stepped in as compromisers. After some debate, their efforts proved successful. A motion was finally carried, to apportion representatives and direct taxes among the states according to their free populations; in determining which, five slaves were to be counted as three freemen.

The question now arising on accepting the reference committee's report, as thus modified, an attempt was made to do away with that part

of it which gave the states an equal representation in the national senate. Ably argued against by Ellsworth and Sherman, this proposition was voted down, and the report subsequently adopted, Connecticut voting with the majority.

Mortified by this result, the delegates from the larger states, having carried an adjournment, met in consultation. Some few were for seceding, and framing a separate constitution; but the suggestion met with little favour, and nothing could be agreed upon. The next day the question was set at rest by the failure of a motion to reconsider, and the convention proceeded with, and, after two warm debates, finished its consideration of the report of the committee of the whole.

The amended report was now referred to a committee of detail, which, ten days subsequently, reported a rough draught of the present constitution.

In the federal plan as now reported, there appeared several new provisions, which gave rise to much excitement and feeling in the convention. The most important of these forbade the national legislature to impose export duties; to prohibit the importation of slaves; and to pass any navigation act, unless by a two-thirds vote.

These provisions again arrayed the North and South in opposition. The eastern ship-owning states were extremely desirous that Congress

should have unrestricted power to enact navigation laws, to which the southern exporting states were decidedly hostile. By the northern delegates, export duties were viewed as an equitable and necessary source of revenue; while those from the south, where exporting was carried on largely, regarded them as oppressive, and injurious to the interests of the people they represented. The provision forbidding Congress to prohibit the importation of slaves, though against the sentiment of most of the states, had been reluctantly conceded in the committee to Georgia and South Carolina, the delegates from which intimated that those states neither could nor would confederate without it.

During the heated and exciting debate that arose upon the report of the committee, it became evident that, unless some amicable settlement were made, the convention could not satisfactorily conclude its important labours. Again the Connecticut delegates stepped forward to harmonize conflicting interests. As before, their efforts were successful, and the third great compromise of the constitution was effected. The first two were the concession to the smaller states of an equal representation in the senate, and to the slaveholders the counting three-fifths of the slaves in determining the ratio of representation. By this, the third, the unrestricted power of Congress to enact navigation laws was conceded

to the northern shipping interest, and to the Carolina rice-planters, as an equivalent, twenty years' continuance of the slave trade; while the entire South was conciliated by the retention of the provision forbidding the national legislature to impose duties on exports.

Some few other amendments having been subsequently adopted, the revised constitution was engrossed, and again brought into the convention, where it received the signatures of all present, except three. Few of those who signed expressed their satisfaction with the instrument as a whole; and it was only through the persuasions of Washington, Franklin, and others, that many of the reluctant members were induced to affix their signatures. Even when they gave it the sanction of their names, they did so with gloomy presentiments of future discord and anarchy, and the ultimate ruin of the confederation.

CHAPTER XX.

Ratification of the constitution by Connecticut—Federal and Republican parties—Political complexion of Connecticut—Amendments of the constitution adopted—Washington elected president—New partisan differences—Contest between the administration and Genet—Public sentiment in Connecticut—Governors Wolcott and Trumbull—Difficulties with France—Alien and sedition acts—Fall of the Federalists—Foreign relations of the United States—British orders in council—Berlin and Milan decrees—Effect of these measures—Assumptions of Great Britain—Adoption of the embargo—Denounced by the New England states—Address of Governor Trumbull—Action of the legislature—Repeal of the embargo—Continued aggressions of England—Declaration of war.

SUBMITTED to Congress, the new constitution was hesitatingly transmitted by that body to the local legislatures, with a recommendation that state conventions of delegates, chosen by the people, should be called to decide upon its adoption or disapproval. To render it the fundamental law of the confederacy, the assent of nine states was required.

The fifth to do so, the Connecticut convention ratified the new constitution by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to forty, on the 9th of January, 1788.

On the question of ratifying or rejecting the

recently created compact, the whole people of the United States had been suddenly arranged, for the first time, into two definite and well-marked political parties. That friendly to the constitution styled itself the Federal party; the members of the opposing division presently assumed the name of Republicans. Their chief objections to the constitution were, that it was too centralizing, or national—not really federal; and that it contained no bill of rights, without which there could be little security for personal liberty.

In Connecticut, as well as in most of the states whose delegates had advocated the state rights' view in opposition to a national plan of government, the mass of the people at once sided with the Federalists. An equality of representation in the upper branch of Congress had been guarantied to them, and they were content. But in Virginia and New York the Republicans held an undoubted majority; and it was not until nine states had ratified the constitution, that they reluctantly yielded their assent to it. Subsequently they proposed the calling of a second national convention; but certain amendments to the constitution having been adopted by the Congress of 1789, this proposal was not agreed to by any other state.

In the mean time, Washington had been elected to the presidency. Though no partisan,

that great and good man was known to be a friend of the new federal compact. Influenced by his avowed predilections, the mass of the people soon began to regard it with favour. It was no longer a partisan measure. But new questions, both of foreign and domestic policy, were not long in arising to excite again the flames of political animosity.

Shortly subsequent to Washington's second inauguration, in 1793, citizen Genet arrived in the United States as ambassador from France. That country, emerging from a sanguinary revolution, had just proclaimed itself a republic, and declared war upon England. According to a treaty concluded with the royal government, "French privateers and their prizes were entitled to shelter in American ports—a shelter not to be extended to the enemies of France." In the cabinet of Washington there were wise statesmen who deemed this treaty no longer binding. Other members, however, were of the contrary opinion. Yet all agreed that, whether binding or not, its conditions could not be fulfilled without plunging the country into an expensive war between two foreign nations, whose respective interests alone were at stake. Such a war the administration determined to avoid; and, sustained by the Federalists, Washington issued a proclamation of strict neutrality. Soon afterward the federal authorities seized a number of

French privateers, which, in defiance of the president's proclamation, were fitting out in American ports. Against these seizures the new ambassador from France, encouraged by the French or Democratic wing of the Republicans, protested in intemperate language, bitterly denouncing the prudent policy of Washington. For a time the contest raged fiercely, and even doubtfully. Flushed with the prospect of finally triumphing over the executive, Genet at length became intolerably insolent. The administration insisted upon his recall. This demand being complied with early in 1794, the excitement which had been created partially subsided.

Nowhere in the United States had Washington warmer or more steady friends than in Connecticut. In the contest just alluded to, the people of that state, almost to a man, adhered to and supported his views. It is recorded with evident pride by a local historian—Dwight—that, "when citizen Genet approached Connecticut, although preceded by accounts of the favour and success he had met in other places, he found the feelings of the people so different from what he wished, and his enterprise"—a sort of an electioneering tour against the president—"was treated with so much irony and ridicule by some of the literary men of Hartford, that he turned back, without crossing the boundary, and gave up all attempts in New England."

In 1796, Oliver Wolcott, senior, was elected to the chief magistracy of Connecticut. Two years afterward, Wolcott was succeeded by Jonathan Trumbull, son of the former governor of that name.

Meanwhile, the national government had been subjected to many insults and injuries by the new and illy-regulated French republic. At length, during the administration of Washington's successor, the elder Adams, whose repeated efforts to obtain redress were utterly unavailing, a war with France appeared inevitable. It was at this crisis that the celebrated alien and sedition acts were passed, for the avowed purpose of protecting the administration from its external foes, the French, and from its internal enemies, the Democratic sympathizers with France. By these acts authority was given the president to order out of the country such aliens as he might deem dangerous to its peace and safety; to apprehend, secure, or remove all resident aliens, natives or citizens of hostile nations, and to sustain prosecution in the judicial courts for such publications as might be considered libellous on the federal government. It needed but a few cases of prosecution, under the sanction of the sedition act, to kindle a fierce flame of opposition to these arbitrary laws. The party with which they originated almost immediately fell, never to rise again as a great national organization.

In 1800, only two years after their enactment, Thomas Jefferson, the candidate of the Republicans, or Democrats, was elected over Mr. Adams to the presidency. In Connecticut, however, the people "stood firm for Federalism and steady habits," as they likewise did in the succeeding presidential campaign, when Jefferson was chosen for a second term.

During the progress of the sanguinary war waged by the allied sovereigns of Europe against Napoleon, the Americans, as neutrals, were rapidly acquiring commercial importance by the great extension of the carrying trade. To destroy this profitable trade, the English government issued a formal order in council, suppressing all commercial relations between France and the United States. Imitating his more powerful maritime rival, Napoleon soon afterward issued his famous Berlin and Milan decrees, rendering American vessels trading to England liable to capture and confiscation.

The measures thus adopted by the two governments were, perhaps, equally detrimental to our commerce; but England had set the first example, and the indignation of a majority of the American people, including the administration party, was almost wholly directed against her. The Federalists, on the other hand, denounced France as being the most blameworthy. Both countries, however, received the repeated pro-

tests of the United States with cool and insulting indifference.

Yet with England there were other and weighty causes of quarrel. Among these were certain pretended rights of search and of impressment, which, at this period, the British government claimed and attempted to enforce, greatly to the injury of our seamen, native-born as well as adopted citizens. The ill-feeling thus drawn upon England was still further excited by the wanton attack made by one of her cruisers, the Leopard, upon the American frigate Chesapeake, under the pretence of recovering a few seamen claimed as deserters from the British navy.

Hoping to force both England and France into the adoption of a more liberal policy, Congress, in 1807, on the recommendation of Mr. Jefferson, passed an act prohibiting the departure, unless by special direction of the president, of any vessel from any port of the United States bound to any foreign country. All registered vessels which, during the operation of the embargo, might engage in the coasting trade, were to give heavy bonds to reland their cargoes within the United States.

Opposed by the Federalists, as being likely to affect the interests of the country more injuriously than the measures it was intended to retaliate, the embargo act was received in the New

England commercial states with bitter denunciations. As the pressure of it began to be more and more felt, the contrivances to evade it grew more and more ingenious, daring, and effectual. To prevent these evasions, the "Enforcing Act" was passed by the general government in January, 1809.

To carry out the restrictive provisions of this act, the president called upon Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, to designate special officers of militia, on whom the collectors of customs might rely for aid. Not knowing, as he said, of any authority under which such appointments could be made, Trumbull declined complying with the president's requisition, and summoned a meeting of the legislature. In his opening address to that body, he took the ground that, on emergencies of the present character, when, as he said, the national legislature had overstepped its constitutional limits of authority, it became the right and duty of the state legislatures to interpose their protection between the assumed power of the general government and the rights and liberties of the people.

Acting upon suggestions contained in the governor's address, the legislature presently adopted a memorial to Congress against the embargo. Resolutions were also passed, in which, while the Enforcing Act was denounced as unconstitutional and binding upon none, such

persons as suffered by its operation were exhorted to make no forcible resistance to it, but to resort to the more peaceful remedies provided by the laws of the state.

Already, however, alarmed by the feeling manifested in New England, and moved also by the evident distress occasioned there by the various embargo measures, a number of Democratic members had joined with the Federal opposition in Congress, and procured the repeal of the obnoxious acts, in February, 1809—less than a month after the passage of the Enforcing Bill.

In the following July, the less stringent act of non-intercourse, as to France and Great Britain, was adopted by the national legislature. But finding this measure almost as injurious to the commercial interest of New England as the embargo had been, and quite as ineffectual as that act in inducing the French and English governments to adopt a just and more liberal policy, Congress finally, in 1810, removed its restrictions upon commercial pursuits, and yielded to the merchants and seamen their point of being left to their own risk and discretion.

Our commerce, however, still remained subject to the caprices and injustice of England and France. For two years longer the general government vainly endeavoured by amicable negotiation to effect some favourable change in the

conduct of those two nations. France, it is true, gave some little evidence of a desire to adopt a better policy; but England grew every day more insolent in her demands and aggressive in action. Having, at length, uselessly "exhausted remonstrances and expostulations," and finding that hostilities could no longer be avoided with honour, the United States, in Congress assembled, declared war against Great Britain, on the 18th of June, 1812.

CHAPTER XXI.

New England peace party—Contest between the executives of Connecticut and the United States—Governor Griswold refuses to yield the command of the militia to officers of the regular service—General Assembly approves his course—Law for a provisional army in Connecticut—Federal triumphs—John Cotton Smith, governor—Progress of the war—Captain Isaac Hull—Militia called out to defend the United States ships of war—Report of a joint committee of the Assembly against withdrawing the regular troops from the seaboard—Peace party losing strength—Origin of the term "blue-light federalist"—Shipping destroyed at Saybrook—British repulsed in an attack on Stonington—Conscription and minor enlistment bills—Denounced by the Connecticut assembly—Hartford Convention called—Meeting of the convention—Outline of its report—State law relative to the enlistment of minors—Peace.

A FEW days subsequent to the declaration of war, Major-General Dearborn, of the regular service, by authority of the president, called

upon Governor Griswold, of Connecticut, for certain detachments of the state militia. With this requisition Griswold declared that he could not comply without violating his duty. In his opinion there was no constitutional emergency demanding the services of the militia, they not being needed "to execute the laws of the Union, to suppress insurrections, or to repel invasions." Approving of the governor's course, the Connecticut council, which presently met, took further exception to Dearborn's requisition, because it contemplated the placing of the troops under United States officers—clearly, they contended, a disposal of them not sanctioned by the constitution. Viewing the governor "as of right the commander-in-chief of the militia," they could not permit them "thus to be withdrawn from his authority."

Backed by a letter from the president to the executive of Connecticut, declaring that "the danger of invasion actually existed," Dearborn reiterated his call for detachments of the state troops, still insisting that they should be under the command of officers belonging to the regular service. While they "believed that the militia of the state would be among the first to perform their constitutional duties, and not among the last to understand and appreciate their constitutional rights," the council yet declared that, "if Congress have seen fit to proclaim war be-

fore they have carried into effect another provision of the constitution, to raise and support armies, it does not follow that the militia are bound to enter their forts and garrisons to perform ordinary garrison duty, and wait for an invasion which may never happen." "It is surely important," they continued, "that the constitution and sovereignty of this state should not be impaired or encroached upon; that the powers delegated to the United States may be exercised, and the powers 'reserved to the states respectively' may be retained." Therefore, it was their advice to the governor, "to retain the militia of the state under his own command."

Against these doctrines, and against the course which the executive of Connecticut was thus encouraged to pursue, a great outcry was raised by the administration party throughout the country. That clamour rose to a still higher key when, in October, the general assembly, on the governor's recommendation, and for the purpose of providing for the defence of the state by some method less expensive and vexatious than detachments of militia, passed a law for raising a provisional army of twenty-six hundred men, of which David Humphreys, formerly United States minister to Spain, was named commander. Resolutions were adopted during the same session, approving the governor's conduct in the militia dispute, and declaring, in the belief of the

assembly, "that it was the deliberate and solemn sense of the people of the state that the war was unnecessary."

The state elections taking place soon after, gave conclusive evidence that the "sense" of the people had been rightly judged. Of the one hundred and ninety-nine representatives chosen, no less than one hundred and sixty-three were members of the Federal or peace party. Governor Griswold, having died a short time previously, was succeeded in the executive office by John Cotton Smith.

Meanwhile a series of disasters had befallen the attempts of the American land forces to enter Canada, which had been made the chief point of attack. Happily, the dispiriting effect of these disasters was more than counteracted by successes on the ocean. On the 19th of August, the United States ship Constitution, commanded by Captain Isaac Hull, of Connecticut, captured the British frigate Guerriere, after a close fight of thirty minutes duration. This was the first of a series of naval victories that, for nearly a year, was uninterrupted by a single defeat. On the 1st of June, 1813, however, the Chesapeake, commanded by the heroic Lawrence, fell a prize to the British frigate Shannon.

A few days after this first naval defeat, the American ships United States, Macedonian, and Hornet, while passing seaward through Long

Island Sound, were intercepted by a British squadron under Sir Thomas Hardy, and obliged to take refuge in New London harbour. To defend these vessels and the town of New London, upon which an attack by the enemy was apprehended, Governor Smith issued a call for the militia, who accordingly assembled in considerable force and with commendable alacrity. The alarm along the seaboard was great; but, beyond a strict blockade of the harbour, from which the American fleet found every effort to escape unavailing, the British did little of importance.

A vast deal of dissatisfaction was felt, however by the people of Connecticut on this occasion, which afterward found expression in the report of a joint committee of the assembly. Disapproving of the general plan of warfare adopted by the administration, "the inhabitants of the seaboard," continued the report, "have an undoubted and imperative right to such protection as the government can provide; instead of which, the regular forces have been almost without exception ordered to the interior of the country, in pursuit of conquests which, if achieved, will probably produce no solid benefit to the nation, while the seaboard is left exposed to the multiplied horrors usually produced by an invading and exasperated enemy."

Meanwhile, the prostrating effects of the war

upon New England had begun to be in some measure counteracted. While the agriculturalist found occasion for satisfaction in the increased demand and higher prices obtained for his products, the shipowner, engaging in the hazardous but still lucrative occupation of privateering, almost ceased to regard his loss of foreign commerce as a serious drawback. A new and rapidly rising interest had also sprung up in the various domestic manufactures, which the stoppage of English importations—a consequence of the war—tended greatly to foster and encourage. Opposed by these various interests, the peace party of New England began to manifest some loss of strength—even in Connecticut, where the new manufactures had been extensively engaged in.

From an early period in the war, the eastern seaboard of the United States, New England for a while excepted, had been closely blockaded by the enemy's fleets. This exception of New England could not but attract observation; and by the ultra Democrats it had been, while it existed, attributed to a collusion between the Federalists and the British. Of such a collusion they found additional proof, as they deemed it, in an incident that occurred at New London, late in the year.

In his vexation at being baffled in every attempt to get to sea, Commodore Decatur, of the squadron blockaded in New London harbour,

wrote to the navy department that, beyond all doubt, the British by some means obtained immediate intelligence of all his movements. To confirm this statement, he said that, after several nights of favourable weather, the report circulating through the town that an attempt would be made to get to sea, in the course of the evening two blue lights were burned on both points of the harbour's mouth. These "signals to the enemy," he continued, "had been repeated, and had been seen by twenty persons, at least, of the squadron."

Upon the Federalists of Connecticut this story at once brought the charge of a guilty connivance with the enemy. So violent were the denunciations it excited against the popular party of the state, that one of the Connecticut members of Congress moved for a committee of investigation. But Calhoun, a prominent Democrat in the national legislature, thought the matter wholly unworthy of attention, and no inquiry was made. The story had gained publicity, however, and the extreme advocates of peace soon began to be stigmatized as "blue-light Federalists"—a term even yet occasionally employed by our politicians.

During the winter, the blockade of New London was vigorously maintained. For the militia, at first called out to guard the more exposed points on the seaboard, regulars had been sub-

stituted; but early in the year 1814 they were again withdrawn, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Governor Smith. The consequence was, that, on the 7th of April, two hundred British sailors and marines quietly entered the mouth of the Connecticut, and ascended to Saybrook and Brockway's Ferry, where, before any force could be assembled to oppose them, they destroyed more than two hundred thousand dollars worth of shipping, and then effected a safe retreat to the squadron.

About sunrise on the 9th of August following, the inhabitants of Stonington were alarmed by the sudden appearance in their harbour of four heavily armed English ships of war. The only defence of the town was a slight breastwork, dignified by the name of fort, and covering two eighteen-pound and one six-pound cannon, mounted as field-pieces. To this battery the handful of Stonington militia repaired, having first sent all the non-combatants out of harm's way, and despatched messengers to New London for assistance. At eight o'clock the fleet opened a brisk cannonade and bombardment of the fort and town, under cover of which an ineffectual attempt was made to land. Maintaining a steady bombardment till midnight, the enemy, early the next morning, a second time attempted to land on the eastern side of the town, but were again repulsed with some loss. Meanwhile, the fleet

had been reinforced by the arrival of an eighteen-gun brig, which, opening a severe fire upon the fort, compelled the garrison to spike their guns and retire. But the neighbouring militia presently assembling in force, the battery was again manned, and the brig in turn driven away badly damaged. Unable to effect a landing, the enemy renewed their bombardment of the town, which was maintained without intermission till the following noon, when, having thrown more than sixty tons of metal upon shore, and lost about seventy-five men in killed and wounded, the squadron weighed anchor and put to sea. Of the gallant militia, not one was killed, and but six wounded; and, although most of the houses of the town were injured, and some set on fire, only three were totally destroyed.

What had been for two years an offensive war on the part of the United States, was now converted into one of defence, against an "enemy" —in the language of President Madison— "powerful in men and money on the land and on the water," and who, "availing himself of fortuitous advantages," aimed, "with his undivided force, a deadly blow at our growing prosperity, perhaps at our national existence."

At this juncture, bills were brought into Congress to increase the regular army by conscription, and to authorize the enlistment of minors not less than eighteen years of age.

On receiving intelligence of the introduction of these bills, the Connecticut assembly, which was then in session, denounced them as unconstitutional, intolerably barbarous and oppressive. In the event of their passage, the governor was authorized, by a resolution adopted almost unanimously, to call a special session of the assembly to provide for the protection of the rights of the citizens.

But a few days after the passage of this resolution, a circular letter was received from the legislature of Massachusetts, proposing a convention of deputies from the several New England states, "to deliberate upon the dangers to which they were exposed," and to devise and recommend such measures for their welfare and safety as would not be "repugnant to their obligations as members of the national Union." Acceding at once to this proposition, the Connecticut assembly appointed seven delegates to meet those of the other New England states at Hartford, on the 15th of December then following.

On the day and at the place appointed, the New England deputies, numbering in all twenty-six, assembled together, and proceeded to deliberate with closed doors. After a session of twenty days they adjourned, having first adopted a report addressed to the legislatures which they represented.

The tone and substance of this report, while they did indeed disappoint the desires and expectations of a few extreme New England Federalists, yet relieved the Democrats from the apprehensions in which they had indulged with regard to the objects and designs of the convention, as well as fron the necessity of continuing to denounce its originators and members as plotters of secret treason and the disruption of the confederacy.

According to their report, "the convention had proceeded to deliberate, first, as to relief against pressing dangers; and, secondly, as to the means of future security.

"The dangers pending over New England were twofold—dangers from the usurpation of the general government, dangers from the common enemy. The power over the militia claimed for the general government the exclusive right of the president to decide on the existence of the constitutional emergencies for calling them into service, thus placing them, in fact, at his disposal; the delegating this power to officers of the regular army, for the apparent purpose of superseding the governors of the states and the other militia officers in their constitutional right to command; the filling up the ranks of the regular army by conscription; the authorizing the enlistment of minors without the consent of their parents or guardians, thus invalidating

contracts, and overturning the parental authority existing under the laws of the state; in all these measures the convention could see nothing but total disregard of the constitution, such as demanded from the individual states firm and decided opposition.

"Though acts of Congress in violation of the constitution were merely void, it did not seem consistent with the respect and forbearance due from a confederate state toward the general government, to fly at once, upon every infraction, to open resistance. Yet, in cases of dangerous and palpable infractions of the constitution, affecting the sovereignty of a state and the liberties of the people, it was the right and duty of the state to interpose its authority for their protection." Accordingly, the convention recommended the several states represented therein to await the final action of Congress on the conscription and minor enlistment bills, and, if they should be passed, to adopt such measures as would most effectually protect their own and their peoples' rights.

Hitherto, continued the report, the New England states have for the most part, defended themselves. But, under existing circumstances, they would be unable to do so longer, unless the general government, which was bound to protect them, but had failed in its duty, should allow them a reasonable proportion of the weighty

taxes they had contributed to the common fund. Such an appropriation was justly their due, and the states were recommended to make application for it to Congress. Should this application prove ineffectual, it was advised that a new convention should meet at Boston in the following June.

To prevent the future recurrence of present evils, the convention proposed to amend the federal constitution by rendering the president ineligible for a second term; by disqualifying all except native citizens to hold office; by apportioning representatives and direct taxes according to the free population; by limiting embargoes to sixty days; and by requiring a two-thirds vote to admit new states, to interdict foreign intercourse, and to declare any but a defensive war.

Having accepted this report, the legislatures of Connecticut and Massachusetts, in accordance with one of its recommendations, appointed commissioners to proceed to Washington, and lay the proposed arrangement as to taxes before Congress.

Pending the session of the convention, the bill for the enlistment of minors received the sanction of Congress. Immediately the Connecticut assembly enacted a law, requiring the state judges to discharge, on habeas corpus, all minors enlisted without the consent of their parents or guardians, and subjecting to fine and

imprisonment any person concerned in any such enlistment who should remove any such minor out of the state, so that he could not be thus discharged.

Happily, at this juncture, when the state and federal authorities seemed to be on the eve of a collision, and before the commissioners of Connecticut and Massachusetts could reach Washington on their ungracious errand, intelligence, as cheering as it was unexpected, arrived to allay the dissensions that had assumed so serious an aspect. Peace had been concluded between Great Britain and the United States; and, on the 17th February, 1815, the treaty which secured it was ratified by the president and senate.

CHAPTER XXII.

Reviving effects of peace—Decline of the Federal party in Connecticut—"Toleration party"—Triumph of the "Tolerationists"—Oliver Wolcott governor—Constitutional convention called—Constitution sanctioned by the people—Changes made by it—Disorganization of parties—Wolcott the first governor under the constitution—Is succeeded by Gideon Tomlinson—Charles H. Pond, the present executive—Statistics of education—Of benevolent and other institutions—Of religion—Agriculture—Manufactures—Commerce—Mineral resources of the state—Internal improvements—Banking capital—State debt—Population.

By the people of Connecticut the return of peace was welcomed with almost extravagant outbursts of rejoicing. Political animosities were

suddenly deprived of their fierceness. All parties were thankful that a period of gloom had passed away, in which the impending danger of internal discord had been far more fearful than the war-like operations of an external foe. Along the streams, and in the numerous little harbours of the state, active preparations were visible for a return to the pleasing employments of peace. Vessels were brought from their hiding-places, and the river side and the sea-shore began again to be cheerful with the hum of reviving commerce. Those manufactures called into life by the war, and which had introduced a new element of prosperity into the commonwealth, languished, it is true, for a brief period after the restoration of peace; but, fostered by the tariff of 1816, they soon sprang up again into fresh and vigorous existence.

Having long since lost power as a national organization, the Federal party, weakened by internal dissensions, now began to be threatened with overthrow, even in Connecticut, its greatest stronghold. The opposition of its leaders to a protective tariff, and to the abolition of the church establishment which had existed since the planting of Connecticut, drew against them the entire strength of the Democratic party, backed by a large and increasing fraction of their own hitherto faithful adherents. To secure the material aid of this disaffected fraction, the

Democrats, at the election of 1816, brought forward, as their gubernatorial candidate, Oliver Wolcott, a moderate Federalist, a warm advocate of domestic manufactures, and the son and grandson of two former governors. Known in the political annals of the state as the "Toleration Party," this new combination, even in its first effort, exhibited formidable strength. Smith, the Federal incumbent, carried his re-election against Wolcott by a few hundred votes only, while in the assembly the opposition obtained a proportion of power hitherto unparalleled.

Rapidly gathering strength, the "Tolerationists," in 1817, achieved a signal triumph by the election of Wolcott. They also carried a majority of the delegates to the popular branch of the assembly. But, retaining a preponderance of power in the council, the old line Federalists were thus enabled to retard, for a brief period, the changes which their opponents demanded.

At the next general election, in April, 1818, the chief question in dispute between the two parties related to the formation of a state constitution. The republican character of the old colonial charter, obtained by Winthrop a century and a half previous, was remarkably attested by the fact that the state had existed under it so long, without any very general desire having been expressed by the people for a constitution of their own framing. Advocating the necessity

of such an instrument, the "Toleratıonists" swept the state. Wolcott was re-elected governor, and a majority chosen to the assembly in favour of a constitutional convention; an act to authorize which was immediately passed.

Meeting at Hartford in August, the convention framed a constitution, which, in the following October, received the popular sanction. In its general features this instrument much resembled the colonial charter it superseded, upon which, in his moderating speeches to the assembly, Wolcott had bestowed many and well-merited eulogies. The most important changes it introduced were those for which the popular party had chiefly contended; the extension of the right of suffrage to all tax-payers and the abolition of the old religious establishment.

From the year 1818 to the present time the history of Connecticut presents few points for consideration. The annals of peace, under a popular and enlightened government, are "short and simple," and they may be summed up in the brief sentence—the commonwealth prospered.

As will have been seen, the Federal party was entirely broken up simultaneously with the adoption of the constitution. After that event the old party grounds appear to have been pretty generally abandoned, preparatory to that later array of conflicting opinions, the respective adherents of which became known as Whigs and

Democrats. The first governor under the constitution was Wolcott, who remained in office until 1826, when he was succeeded by Gideon Tomlinson. The present executive is the venerable Charles H. Pond, a gentleman now past the scriptural limit of life, but who still retains a vigour and elasticity of mind and body which many younger men may be permitted to envy.

Connecticut has been deservedly praised for the attention she has given to the subject of education. In 1852, the school-fund, whose origin has already been noticed, amounted to the sum of $2,049,482; although nearly $4,000,000 of its proceeds had been previously distributed among the schools of the state. During the year mentioned, when the number of children between four and six years was about 95,000, the revenue distributed amounted to $132,792,80. In addition to the numerous schools thus supported by the state, there are many private academies, three first-class colleges, two theological seminaries, and one law and one medical school. The two latter, having respectively twenty-six and thirty-seven pupils, are attached to Yale College at New Haven. This college, the most numerously attended in the United States, and among the alumni of which are some of the most eminent divines, scholars, and statesmen of the country, in 1852 had four hundred and forty students, and fifty-one thousand volumes in its

libraries. The Wesleyan University, founded in 1831, is situated at Middletown. It has seven instructors, a library of fourteen thousand volumes, and about one hundred and twenty students. Trinity College, founded at Hartford in 1824, has thirteen instructors, seventy-nine students, and a library of fifteen thousand volumes. The two theological seminaries at New Haven and East Windsor have an average attendance of about sixty pupils.

For her erring and unfortunate children, Connecticut has manifested the same wise and benevolent care as she has for the instruction of the virtuous, the healthy, and the sane. In 1851, an act was passed, and ten thousand dollars appropriated for the establishment of a state school for the instruction and reformation of juvenile offenders under the age of sixteen. At Hartford is the Retreat for the Insane, which receives a liberal contribution from the state. In the same beautiful city stands the American Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb. Established in 1817 by the Rev. T. H. Gallaudet, in conjunction with M. Laurent Clerc, a deaf mute, formerly an instructor under the celebrated Abbé Sicard, this institution was the first of its kind in the United States. The average number of pupils at present is about two hundred. Appropriations are made for the benefit of their own citizens in this asylum, severally by Connecticut, Maine, New

Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and South Carolina.

Of the seven hundred and nineteen churches in Connecticut, in 1850, the different sects of Baptists owned 113; the Congregationalists, 252; the Methodists, 178; the Episcopalians, 100; the Universalists, 22; the Presbyterians, 17; the Roman Catholics, 12. The rest were distributed among the various smaller denominations. These give an average of one church to every five hundred and fifteen persons. Value of church property, $3,554,894.

Much of the surface of Connecticut is hilly and rugged, being crossed by several ranges of low mountains. Between these ranges there are valleys and plains of greater or less extent; and those on the river intervals especially of great agricultural capabilities. Wherever the soil can be tilled, it is generally made to yield the most it is capable of with our present system of culture. The number of acres of land under cultivation, in 1850, was 1,768,168; value of farming implements and machinery, $1,892,541; of live stock, $7,467,490; of domestic manufactures, $192,252. The number of bushels of Indian corn raised, was 1,935,043; of wheat, 41,762; of rye, 600,893; of oats, 1,158,738. The number of pounds of tobacco produced, was 1,267,264; of butter, 6,498,119; of cheese, 5,363,277. In addition to the great staples

here mentioned, the smaller ones are abundantly produced; although the north-western and eastern portions of the state are better adapted to grazing than to grain. The value of animals slaughtered in 1850, was $2,202,266.

Connecticut has long been celebrated for the itinerant vendors of her manufactures, who have travelled over our country in all directions. Her wooden clocks note the lapse of time in the remotest settlements of our western states, and have of late years been exported even to Europe. Wooden, iron, copper, tin, and brass ware; hats, boots, shoes, coaches, combs, axes, buttons, saddlery, paper, and agricultural and mechanical implements, are all largely manufactured. Though these wares are generally fabricated in small quantities by individuals with trifling capital, yet the aggregate amount is great enough to place Connecticut among the first of the manufacturing states. In the absolute amount of cotton and woollen goods produced, this little commonwealth is nearly equal to New York or Pennsylvania, and taking the difference of population into consideration, she is greatly superior; while she only ranks below Pennsylvania in the relative amount of iron manufactured. In 1850, the cotton manufacture of the state was carried on by one hundred and twenty-eight establishments, in which a capital of $4,219,200 was invested. The value of all the raw material was

$2,500,602; products, $4,257,522; operatives, 6185; monthly wages, $82,743. In the woollen manufacture, there was a capital of $3,733,950, invested in one hundred and forty-nine establishments, consuming in the year raw material to the amount of $3,325,709, and producing an annual value of $6,465,216. The number of operatives was 5488, receiving monthly wages amounting to $104,615. The capital invested in ninety-one iron works was $1,335,900; raw material consumed, $999,374; value of products, $2,064,560; operations, 1464; monthly wages, $41,680. In addition to the establishments enumerated with the above, there were three thousand five hundred and forty-five other manufactories, producing annually $500 and upward.

Carrying on an active coasting trade, Connecticut has little foreign commerce, excepting with the West Indies, that does not flow through New York and Boston. Her foreign exports, consisting principally of domestic manufactures, amounted, in 1852, to $506,174; overbalancing her imports during the same period, $111,499. The entire tonnage of the state was rated at 125,085, of which 25,992, chiefly belonging to New London, was engaged in the whale fishery, and 8318 in the cod and mackerel fisheries; number of vessels built, sixty-five, with an aggregate tonnage of 9035.

Of late, public attention has been considerably excited by the re-discovery, near Middletown, of a lead mine, which is thought to have been worked by the first Governor Winthrop. Independently of its richness in lead, the ore of this mine yields a heavy percentage of silver. Besides lead, the region around Middletown contains abundantly, zinc, cobalt, and copper, and companies are forming, with large capitals, to work the different mines.

Connecticut has her full share of railways, connecting her principal towns with each other, and with New York and Boston. In January, 1853, there was a grand total of six hundred and forty-seven miles in operation, and one hundred and ninety-eight in course of construction.

The banking capital of Connecticut, in 1852, was $12,509,808, distributed among fifty-three institutions. Her state debt is $91,212; ordinary annual expenses, exclusive of debt and schools, $115,000; assessed value of property, in 1850, $119,088,672.

The number of representatives to which Connecticut is entitled by the present apportionment, is four. By the census of 1790, her population was 238,141; by that of 1840, it was 309,978; and by that of 1850, 370,791. But it is not in her own census tables that evidence is to be sought of the numerical increase of the active, enterprising, and ingenious sons of Connecticut.

These only show the number of the more sedate, stay-at-home people. As has been seen in the course of this history, a tide of emigration early set out from her borders. Since the Revolution, that tide has been full and continuous; bearing with it, to all parts of the Union, not itinerant tradesmen and shrewd adventurers only, but a goodly portion of the sober, sensible, God-fearing population of the state. From these emigrants—the founders of new settlements and of new states—have risen leading merchants, lawyers celebrated for their ability, and statesmen distinguished in the councils of the nation. And more than all, wherever the outflowing population of Connecticut has borne itself, it has, while reclaiming the wilderness and laying the foundations of towns and cities, constantly evinced that intelligent regard for the education of youth, which forms a distinctive feature in the character of the people from which it sprung.

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